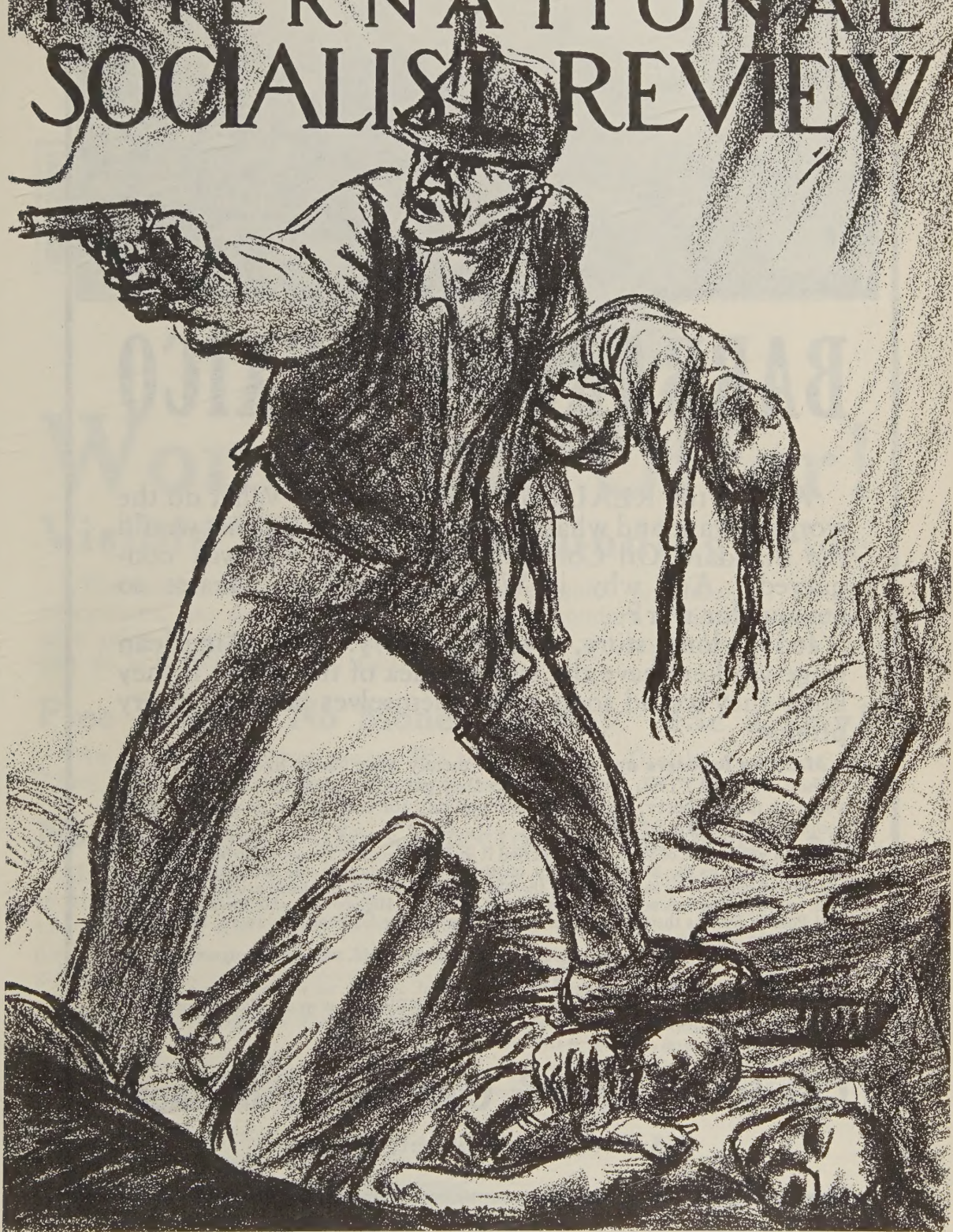


JUNE 1914

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# *The* INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW







# BARBAROUS MEXICO

By JOHN KENNETH TURNER

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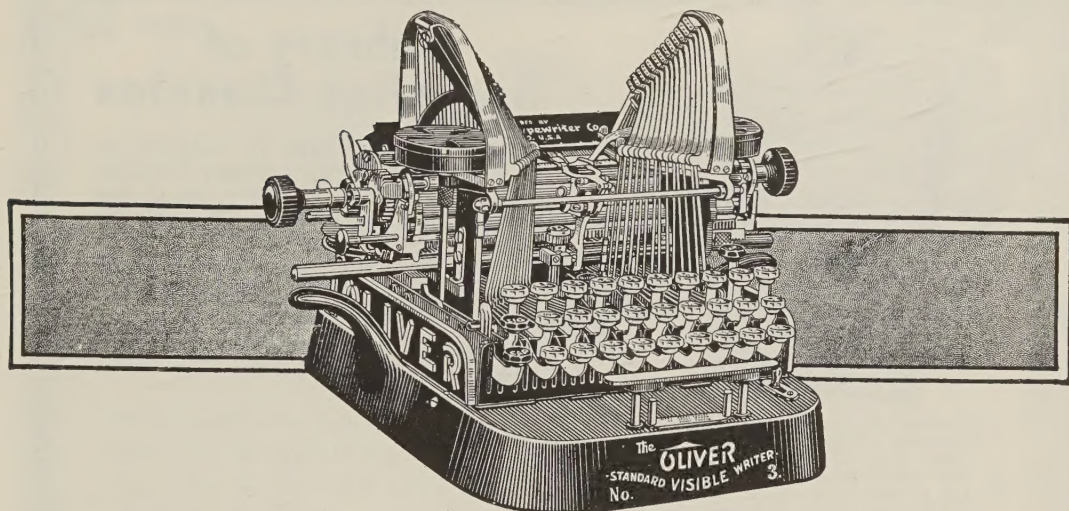
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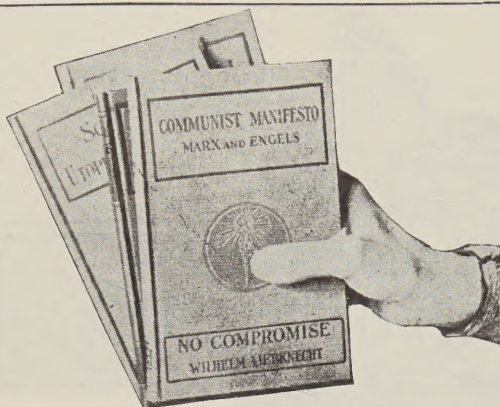
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June

1914

# *The* INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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No. 12

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*The Editor is responsible only for views expressed on the editorial page and in unsigned department matter. Each contributor and associate editor is responsible for views expressed over his own signature.*

## T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

Cover Design .....	John Sloan.....	
The Class War in Colorado. Illustrated.....	Leslie H. Marcy...	708
"Ludlow." Illustrated. ....	Clara Ruth Mozzor	722
The Lesson of Ludlow. Illustrated.....	Vincent St. John...	725
Whose War Is This? Illustrated.....	Mary E. Marcy....	729
More Murdered Children!.....	A. Marine.....	730
The Situation in Mexico. Illustrated.....	Manuel Sarabia....	732
Revolt of the Railroad Worker.....	Eugene V. Debs...	736
The Value of the Strike.....	Ferdinand Marorias	737
How Japan Is Civilizing Formosa. Illustrated.....	S. Katayama.....	741
News from New Zealand.....	"Vag" .....	743
Washington's May Day.....	Ellen Wetherell ...	746
Study Course in Socialism.....	J. E. Sinclair... ..	748
To Frank Tannenbaum in Prison. Poem.....	Upton Sinclair	756

## DEPARTMENTS

*Editorial:* A Rich Man's War

International Notes

News and Views

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MILITIAMEN (YELLOW LEGS) ON THEIR WAY FROM DENVER TO "GET" THE MINERS.

## THE CLASS WAR

By Lesl

"SOCIETY AS A WHOLE IS MORE AND MORE SPLITTING UP INTO TWO CLASSES: THE PROLETARIAT AND THE BOURGEOISIE. THE OTHER: THE CAPITALIST CLASS."

FOR thirty years an industrial warfare has been going on in Colorado between the coal miners and the coal owners. In fact, in every state and country where coal is mined we find an irrepressible conflict of interests. Temporary truces are signed from time to time in the way of contracts—mostly CON so far as the men are concerned—and again, there is open warfare

as witnessed recently in England, West Virginia and South Africa.

Time was when the coal miners of this country worked 16 hours a day, but, by combining their strength into unions they have cut the hours of their slavery to eight and improved their working conditions. No wonder that their battle cry is "The Union Forever"! No wonder that the Coal Barons cry out for the standing





A GROUP OF MINERS "ON THE JOB."

# IN COLORADO

H. Marcy

HOSTILE CAMPS, INTO TWO GREAT CLASSES DIRECTLY FACING EACH  
AND THE WORKING CLASS."

army to protect them when all else has failed!

The Battle of Ludlow was inevitable. For seven months the southern coal fields of Colorado have been divided into two hostile camps: the Owners organized into the Operators Association; the Workers organized in unions of the United Mine Workers of America, with interests diametrically opposed.

The main issue is the right of the miners to organize. The Colorado Statutes are very clear on this subject and the miners have the legal right of way, but, the "law is a dead letter in the section of Colorado 100 miles square," or wherever the Operators own the land.

On September 23, 1913, the union miners went on strike to enforce their constitutional rights: to organize; to work



an 8-hour day, to semi-monthly pay, to have their own Check-weighman, to trade where they pleased,—ALL OF WHICH WERE DEAD LAWS. Each proposition related to a law that was being violated. The whole proposal simmered down to a single statement is this: "If you coal diggers will give up your union, the operators promise to obey the state laws which have been passed for your protection."

Now the Coal Capitalists not only owned the land and the coal, as far down as hell, but they also owned the churches, schools, saloons and shacks or twentieth century cabins, where the miners were allowed to live, at so much per month. The first move on the Operators' part was to break up these free American homes. "Get off, swim into the lake, fly into the air, go anywhere, but get off"—our property! And the law was strictly enforced.

The merciless economic hold of the coal companies was clearly brought out in the Congressional investigation from which we quote as follows:

The Chairman—Let me tell you this and see what you think about it. In some of the camps out there, it is so testified to—and I think some in which your company is interested—a town is incorporated, and all the property there is owned by your company, with a sign up, "Private Property." These incorporated mining towns elect a mayor, who is usually the mine superintendent or some one connected with the mine. They conduct the business of the town, levying a poll tax of \$1.50 on the miners, and with the saloon licenses are able to conduct the town and pay the expenses. Have you ever looked into that to find out whether or not that is a fact?

Mr. Rockefeller—No; I have no knowledge of that. I should think it would be quite necessary and proper that when a company bought a mine it should buy property in the vicinity of the mine to provide for the workers who must inevitably be there to work the mine. I should think that that was a wise policy, to buy lands in the vicinity—

The Chairman—All around the mine?

Mr. Rockefeller—So as to concentrate conveniently the residences of the employees.

The Chairman—And then these people living in this town—the miners, those who work for the companies—are compelled to rent your property?

Mr. Rockefeller—You say "compelled"—

The Chairman—Yes, "compelled," if they work for your company.

Mr. Rockefeller—They are not compelled to work for the company.

Land was immediately leased and tent

colonies were established by the U. M. W. A. Everything possible was done to barricade the men, women and children against the bitter cold of the coming winter. At Ludlow 400 tents covered nearly 1,000 people, including 271 children, twenty-one babies having been born there since October.

The great majority of the strikers do not speak English. For the most part they are strike-breakers who were brought into Colorado during the bitter struggle of ten years ago, and *have themselves become unionized*. Twenty-one nationalities are represented, Greeks and Italians making up the largest number.

The Ludlow Colony, 18 miles north of Trinidad on the direct road to Walsenberg, was a strategic position for the miners, as it enabled them to picket the station of the Colorado Southern Railroad at Ludlow where strike-breakers detained for several of the largest mines.

The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company operate in this district and they lost no time in shipping in professional strike-breakers and gunmen, as well as Japs and Negroes to work in the mines. The Baldwin-Felz detective agency sent in their most expert man-killers, altho Section 3 of the state laws of Colorado on Labor Disputes reads—"Any person or persons who shall hire, aid, abet, or assist in hiring, through agencies or otherwise, persons to guard with arms or deadly weapons of any kind, or other person or property in this State, or any person who shall come into this State armed with deadly weapons of any kind for any such purpose, without a permit in writing from the Governor of this State, shall be guilty of a felony."

Many of these gunmen had "operated" in the coal strike in West Virginia and the copper strike in Michigan and it is unnecessary perhaps to remind our readers that these men are hired to "start something." They immediately got busy on the job. There was trouble every day for the strikers, which gave the operators a chance to hire the state militia under the pretext of preserving "law and order," but in reality to help break the strike.

Early in December "at the suggestion of Governor Ammons, a committee of five was appointed by John R. McLennon of the State Federation of Labor to in-





Courtesy Wyoming Labor Journal.

LUDLOW BEFORE THE MASSACRE.



Courtesy Wyoming Labor Journal.

SCENE AT LUDLOW AFTER THE MASSACRE.





A TYPICAL SCENE.—FORBES.

investigate charges made against the militia in the Denver convention of the Federation. This committee was a representative one. James H. Brewster who wrote the report, was for years professor of law at the University of Michigan, an impartial citizen who had gone to Colorado for his health.

"The governor empowered the committee to fully investigate conditions and take testimony. The stenographic records of 163 witnesses filled 760 typewritten pages. The testimony made a red hot union man of Mr. Brewster and he consented to conduct the case of the unions before the Congressional Investigating Committee.

"In their report the five men on the committee unanimously agreed that Lieut. E. K. Linderfelt, who was in charge of the militia quartered near Ludlow, was doing all in his power to provoke the strikers to violence. It seemed to the committee that he was especially anxious to get Louis Tikas into trouble. Once he arrested him for some trivial offence and held him without lodging a charge against him. The report reads:

"We have reason to believe that it is his (Linderfelt's) deliberate purpose to provoke the strikers to bloodshed. Ev-

ery decent member of the militia who knows Louis Tikas will testify that he is an admirable man for the place he fills; that he is fair, and that he will assist the militia in every proper way in policing the neighborhood, yet it is this man whom Linderfelt tries to provoke in order that some other members of the colony will be aroused out of sympathy, and it is this man whom Linderfelt is reported to have threatened to kill on the slightest provocation."

It was not long before the majority of the gunmen were wearing militia uniforms, which further complicated matters, as the majority of the militia were in sympathy with the coal miners. Many of them visited Mother Jones during her six months illegal imprisonment and they told her that never again would they wear the uniform. It also develops that 584 deputies were sworn in as far back as August and yet no salaries had been demanded from the state. They were on the pay-roll of the *owners of the state*—the Coal Operators' Association.

As the weeks and months passed by, the Operators became desperate. The strike was costing them thousands of dollars a week. The pay-roll of the militia officers alone amounted to \$28,943.07 a



month. Every politician in the state lined up at the pie-counter and got on the pay-roll. The state auditor's report shows that there were 397 officers and 695 privates. There were generals, majors, colonels and captains, drawing salaries up to \$400 a month and expenses. The privates were drawing \$1.00 per day and expenses from the state besides the \$3.00 a day which many of them drew from the coal companies. Add to this the wages of deputies and gunmen and you can readily figure out why the operators were worried.

The state ran so far in debt that the militia had to be withdrawn. The ranks of the strikers remained unbroken. Something had to be done to break the strike and the gunmen got busy. Troop A was organized by Lieut. K. E. Linderfelt, a Baldwin-Felz gunman. Of the 126 men, 90 per cent were employes (?) of the coal corporation. Company B was composed of gunmen and mine guards under the command of Major Hamrock. None of the company had a permanent occupation sufficiently important to warrant his return to Denver when the general order

for the recall of the militia was issued. There were 36 thugs all told. Their names are kept secret.

That the battle of Ludlow was deliberately planned is proven beyond all reasonable doubt by affidavits of the miners as well as by the report of the military probe committee which conducted an investigation after the massacre. This committee was composed of Major Edward J. Boughton, Captain W. C. Danks and Captain Philip Van Cife, of the Colorado National Guard and their report recommended the court martial of every officer and enlisted man of the state militia who participated in the burning of Ludlow colony.

The following affidavit speaks for itself:

State of Colorado, County of Las Animas, ss.  
Frank Didano, being first duly sworn, upon oath deposes and says:

That his name is Frank Didano; that on Monday, April 20, he was playing baseball in the grounds back of the Snodgrass store with one Tom Romeo. He heard some explosion about 9 a. m., and saw five or six men and some women running from the depot at Ludlow, to the tent colony. He looked over and saw some soldiers near the steel bridge and



Photo by Stuart Mace, Denver Times.

MILITIAMEN AND MINE GUARDS "ON DUTY."



some more near the soldiers' tents dragging out a machine gun. He heard some more explosions and started to run with his companion to the tent colony. The machine guns opened fire on the tent colony at once, and affiant ran for his life to the arroya. Frank Rubino ran with the affiant and was struck by an explosive bullet and killed.

Affiant hid in the arroya until about 4:30, and then ran away. Affiant saw the train from Trinidad bring more machine guns and guards. The firing of the machine guns was awful; they fired thousands and thousands of shots.

Affiant had no gun. There were a very few guns in the tent colony. Affiant does not think there were more than fifty, including shotguns and all. Affiant's tent, No. 18, had a big American flag on it, and an Italian flag underneath the American flag. At least forty or fifty tents in the tent colony had American flags and flags of all nations on them. In all cases the American flag was on the poles above the other flags.

Many women and children were in the tents, but were afraid to crawl out of the shallow pits under the tents, and several men were killed trying to get to them. They put a machine gun on top of a hill and commenced shooting down into the arroya where affiant was hidden, together with some other people—women and children—and affiant ran away and came to Trinidad. The soldiers and mine guards tried to kill everybody; anything they saw move, even a dog, they shot at.

FRANK DIDANO.

Subscribed in my presence and sworn to before me this 23rd day of April, A. D. 1914.

My commission expires on the 18th day of July, A. D. 1915.

ANGUS E. McGLASHAN,  
(Seal) Notary Public.



Courtesy News-Post, Philadelphia.

WHO WILL WIPE OUT THIS BLOT?

Excerpts from the official report of the military committee are as follows:

"We find that the remote cause of this, as of all other battles, lies with the coal operators who established in an American industrial community a numerous class of ignorant, lawless and savage South-European peasants. The present underlying cause was the presence near Ludlow, in daily contact one with another, of three discordant elements—strikers, soldiers and mine guards, all armed and fostering an increasing deadly hatred which sooner or later was bound to find some such expression."

The battle was precipitated by the firing of two crude bombs by order of Major Hamrock, "and, so far as we can learn, this was the first explosion of the day. We learned from the colonists that they were thought to be some new kind of ammunition, or possibly artillery possessed by the soldiers."

"The Greeks were vociferous and insistent upon giving battle to the soldiers at once if they should appear. Tikas did the best he could to dissuade and quiet them."

"Lieutenant Lawrence, having reported to the major, left to return to his detachment on Water Tank hill. He had gone but a short way when he galloped back to the station and cried out: 'My God, Major, look at those men; we are in for it,' pointing toward the Greeks defiling toward the railroad cut. Tikas was the first to answer.

"He immediately jumped up, saying 'I will stop them,' and, pulling out his handkerchief, ran toward the colony, waving to the Greeks to return. A civilian and union sympathizer who met Tikas as he ran, told us that he heard him exclaim: 'What damned fools!'

"Major Hamrock directed Lieutenant Lawrence to return to his troop and await developments. After the lieutenant reached Water Tank hill, and not before, the machine gun and remaining men from Cedar hill arrived. Major Hamrock hurried from the station to his tents, and reported the conditions to General Chase in Denver.

"While returning to his camp the major observed the women and children of the colony in large numbers running from the colony north to the shelter of the arroya.

"Lieutenant Benedict, observing the colony at this time through his field glasses, plainly saw Tikas leave and hurry toward the Greeks, now nearly arrived at their intended position. Tikas was carrying a rifle in one hand and a field glass in the other. It is evident that on returning to the colony and seeing the futility of preventing the outbreak, Tikas had armed himself and hastened to his compatriots.

"Shortly after the firing commenced it became very general. On the strikers' side it pro-





A GROUP OF MINERS' WIVES AND CHILDREN WHO SURVIVED THE LUDLOW MASSACRE.

ceeded from the railroad cut, from the tent colony and from the arroya beyond it. It was returned from Water Tank hill, from a row of steel cars in the vicinity of the soldiers' tents, and from houses and stores along the road between the colony and the northern canyon. Lieutenant Lawrence and three men advanced from Water Tank hill toward the Greek position in the railroad cut, with a view to dislodge the men shooting from that cover.

"One of these men, Private Martin, was shot through the neck.

"They were compelled to leave Martin under cover and return without him. As they retreated the strikers followed until under cover. Several attempts were made by the soldiers during the day to recover their wounded comrade, but it was not until the afternoon, when Captain Carson arrived from Trinidad with reinforcements and another machine gun, that they were able to drive the strikers back and reach the place where Martin lay."

As the conflict became more deadly the two machine guns pumping 400 soft-nosed bullets a minute were turned on the tents.

"It was then that Major Hamrock tested his range with the machine guns on Water Tank hill and sent them directly into the first tents of the colony itself, at the same time the strikers' fire drew a return from all combatants into the same tents. It was this con-

centrated fire upon the nearest tents in the southwest corner of the colony that set them on fire."

"As one tent caught after another, several other explosions occurred. During this time some of the men, having nearly reached the tent colony, heard the screams of women and called to men whom they saw firing from between the tents to get their women out.

"The only answer were the words, 'You go to hell,' spoken with a foreign accent, and accompanied by a rain of shots."

For fourteen hours the battle raged. The list of killed and wounded will never be known but the fact that the regular army was sent to preserve "law and order" shows that the gunmen got all the lead they wanted.

"During the rescuing and afterwards, the tent colony was invaded by the soldiers and mine guards for quite a different purpose. By this time the uniformed guardsmen had been joined by large numbers of men in civilian attire, part of whom were from Troop "A" and part of them mine guards, all unknown to the uniformed soldiers and their officers and all unused and unamenable to discipline.

"By this time, the time of the burning of the tents, the nondescript number of men had passed out of their officers' control, had ceased to be an army and had become a mob. Doubt-





Courtesy Denver Express.

#### CRUCIFIED.

less all were seeing red on both sides of the conflict.

"We find that the tents were not all of them destroyed by accidental fire. Men and soldiers swarmed into the colony and deliberately assisted the conflagration of spreading the fire from tent to tent.

"Beyond a doubt, it was seen to intentionally that the fire should destroy the whole of the colony. This, too, was accompanied by the usual loot.

"Men and soldiers seized and took from the tents whatever appealed to their fancy of the moment. In this way, clothes, bedding, articles of jewelry, bicycles, tools and utensils were taken from the tents and conveyed away.

"So deliberate was this burning and looting that we find that cans of oil found in the tents were poured upon them and the tents lit with matches."—Report of Military Probe Committee.

#### The Massacre of the Innocents

"The horror of the shambles at Ludlow is overwhelming. Not since the days when pitiless red men wreaked vengeance upon intruding frontiersmen and upon their women and children has this western country been stained with so foul a deed.

"The details of the massacre are horrible. Mexico offers no barbarity so base as that of the murder of defenceless women and children

by the mine guards in soldiers' clothing. Like whitened sepulchres we boast of American civilization with this infamous thing at our very doors. Huerta murdered Madero, but even Huerta did not shoot an innocent little boy seeking water for his mother who lay ill. Villa is a barbarian, but in his maddest excess Villa has not turned machine guns on imprisoned women and children. Where is the outlaw so far beyond the pale of human kind as to burn the tent over the heads of nursing mothers and helpless little babies?

"Out of this infamy one fact stands clear. Machine guns did the murder. The machine guns were in the hands of mine guards, most of whom were also members of the state militia. It was private war, with the wealth of the richest man in the world behind the mine guards.

"Once and for all time the right to employ armed guards must be taken away from private individuals and corporations. To the state, and to the state alone, belongs the right to maintain peace. Anything else is anarchy. Private warfare is the only sort of anarchy the world has ever known, and armed forces employed by private interests have introduced the only private wars of modern times. This practice must be stopped. If the state laws are not strong enough, then the federal government must step in. At any cost, private warfare must be destroyed.

"Who are these mine guards to whom is entrusted the sovereign right to massacre? Four of the fraternity were electrocuted recently in New York. They are the gunmen of the great cities, the offscourings of humanity, whom a bitter heritage has made the wastrels of the world. Warped by the wrongs of their own upbringing, they know no justice and they care not for mercy. They are hardly human in intelligence, and not as high in the scale of kindness as domestic animals.

"Yet they are not the guilty ones. The blood of the innocent women and children rests on the hands of those who for the greed of dollars employed such men and bought such machines of murder. The world has not been hard upon these; theirs has been a gentle upbringing. Yet they reck not of human life when pecuniary interests are involved.

"The blood of the women and children, burned and shot like rats, cries aloud from the ground. The great state of Colorado has failed them. It has betrayed them. Her militia, which should have been the impartial protectors of the peace, have acted as murderous gunmen. The machine guns which played in the darkness upon the homes of humble men and women, whose only crime was an effort to earn an honest living, were bought and paid for by agents of the mine owners. Explosive bullets have been used on children. Does the bloodiest page in the French revolution approach this in hideousness?"—Rocky Mountain News.

And knowing these facts the three lackeys on the military investigating committee reported that these men, wom-



en and children were "lawless and savage South European peasants."

### The Murder of Louis Tikas

The account that follows is taken from the New York World, of May 5th.

Godfrey Irwin, a young electrical engineer who returned yesterday from the strike ridden district of Colorado, saw most of the events of the "civil war," including the massacre at Ludlow. Mr. Irwin is staying at the Young Men's Christian Association on West Twenty-third street. He held a position in Trinidad with the Electric Transportation Railroad and Gas Company. Mr. Irwin said yesterday to a World reporter:

"On the day of the Ludlow battle a chum and myself left the house of the Rev. J. O. Ferris, the Episcopal minister with whom I boarded in Trinidad, for a long tramp through the hills. We walked fourteen miles, intending to take the Colorado & Southern Railroad back to Trinidad from Ludlow station.

"We were going down a trail on the mountain side above the tent city at Ludlow when my chum pulled my sleeve and at the same instant we heard shooting. The militia were coming out of Hastings Canyon and firing as they came. We lay flat behind a rock and after a few minutes I raised my hat aloft on a stick. Instantly bullets came in our direction. One penetrated my hat. The militiamen must have been watching the hillside through glasses and thought my old hat betrayed the whereabouts of a sharpshooter of the miners.

### Saw Tikas Slain.

"Then came the killing of Louis Tikas, the Greek leader of the strikers. We saw the militiamen parley outside the tent city and a few minutes later, Tikas came out to meet them. We watched them talking. Suddenly an officer raised his rifle, gripping the barrel, and felled Tikas with the butt.

"Tikas fell face downward. As he lay there we saw the militiamen fall back. Then they aimed their rifles and deliberately fired them into the unconscious man's body. It was the first murder I had ever seen, for it was a murder and nothing less. Then the miners ran about in the tent colony and women and children scuttled for safety in the pits which afterward trapped them.

"We watched from our rock shelter while the militia dragged up their machine guns and poured a murderous fire into the arroya from a height by Water Tank Hill above the Ludlow depot. Then came the firing of the tents.

"I am positive that by no possible chance could they have been set ablaze accidentally. The militiamen were thick about the northwest corner of the colony where the fire started and we could see distinctly from our lofty observation place what looked like a blazing torch waved in the midst of militia a few seconds before the general conflagration swept through the place. What followed everybody knows.



Courtesy of the Survey.

LOUIS TIKAS.

The Photograph, Taken Some Time Ago, Shows Tikas at the Well Which Formed the Sole Water Supply for the 900 Persons at the Ludlow Camp. The Barbed Wire at the Left Had Been Rammed Down the Well to Put It Out of Commission. The Strikers Charge the Militia with Doing It.

### Calls Militia Thugs.

"Sickened by what we had seen we took a freight back into Trinidad. The town buzzed with indignation. To explain in large part the sympathies of even the best people in the section with the miners, it must be said that there is good evidence that many of the so-called 'militiamen' are only gunmen and thugs wearing the uniform to give them a show of authority. They are the toughest lot I ever saw.

"No one can legally enlist in the Colorado State militia till he has been a year in the state, and many of the 'militiamen' admitted to me they had been drafted in by a Denver detective agency. Lieut. Linderfelt boasted that he was 'Going to lick the miners or wipe them off the earth.' In Trinidad the miners never gave any trouble. It was not till the militia came into town that the trouble began."

\* \* \*

The official military report on the murder is as follows:

"In taking the steel bridge two men had been left at a pump house between the colony and arroya. At this point these men took a prisoner who proved to be Tikas (Louis the Greek).





Courtesy Wyoming Labor Journal.

LOUIS TIKAS—THE HERO OF LUDLOW—OUR MARTYR.

"The men brought this prisoner back along the railroad to the crossroads at the corner of the colony, and called out 'We've got Louis the Greek!' Immediately between fifty and seventy-five men, uniformed soldiers, men of

Troop A and mine guards rushed to that point. Lieutenant Linderfelt came up with the others.

"Tikas was then turned over to the lieutenant, his captors returning to their post. Some words ensued between the lieutenant



Courtesy Wyoming Labor Journal.

FRANK SNYDER, JR., A MERE CHILD, MURDERED WHILE TRYING TO GET HIS SICK MOTHER A DRINK OF WATER DURING THE MASSACRE.





Photo by Stuart Mace, Denver Times.

THE "BLACK HOLE OF LUDLOW" WHERE TWO  
MOTHERS AND ELEVEN BABIES MET DEATH.

and Tikas over the responsibility for the day's doings. Lieutenant Linderfelt swung his rifle over Louis' head, breaking the stock of the gun."

"Two bullets passed clear through the body of Tikas, showing that they must have been

steel-jacketed bullets such as are used by the soldiers and also by some of the mine guards and Troop A men. The one bullet that was found in his body is a soft-nosed bullet which is an ammunition never used by the soldiers."



Courtesy Wyoming Labor Journal.

A LUDLOW STORM CELLAR AT CLOSE RANGE.



## A Call to Arms Issued to Unionists of the State of Colorado.

Denver, Colo., April 22, 1914.

Organize the men in your community in companies of volunteers to protect the workers of Colorado against the murder and cremation of men, women and children by armed assassins in the employ of coal corporations, serving under the guise of state militiamen.

Gather together for defensive purposes all arms and ammunition legally available. Send name of leader of your company and actual number of men enlisted at once by wire, phone or mail, to W. T. Hickey, Secretary of State Federation of Labor.

Hold all companies subject to order.

People having arms to spare for these defensive measures are requested to furnish same to local companies, and where no company exists, send them to the State Federation of Labor.

The state is furnishing us no protection and we must protect ourselves, our wives and children, from these murderous assassins. We seek no quarrel with the state and we expect to break no law, we intend to exercise our lawful right as citizens, to defend our homes and our constitutional rights.

JOHN R. LAWSON, U. M. W.

JOHN McLENNAN,

E. L. DOYLE,

JOHN RAMSAY,

W. T. HICKEY, Secy. State Fed. of Lab.

E. R. HOAGE,

T. W. TAYLOR,

CLARENCE MOOREHOUSE,

ERNEST MILLS, Secy.-Treas. W. F. of M.

From coast to coast the working class responded to the call.

Hundreds of mass meetings were held and thousands of dollars were sent in for arms and ammunition. The miners in one state alone wired \$15,000 in two days. Conservative Trade Unions even in Philadelphia, held rousing meetings. The spirit of solidarity swept over all craft barriers in responding to the needs of their brothers.

Labor is fast waking up to the reality of the class struggle and the necessity of SOLIDARITY. It is dawning upon the workers that "Those men who own the earth make the laws to protect what they have. They fix up a sort of fence or pen around what they have, and they fix the law so the fellow on the outside can not get in. The laws are really organized for the protection of the men who rule the world. They were never organized or enforced to do justice. We have no system for doing justice, not the slightest in the world."

Congressional Committees are appointed to investigate, they report and

pass away, but Mr. Rockefeller's hold-up game goes peacefully on. Messages telling the story of the futile efforts at Washington to bring about a settlement of the Colorado coal mine strike, including a telegram from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., saying the mining company officials in Colorado were "the only ones competent to deal with the question," have been made public.

Twenty so-called independent coal companies in a long telegram to the president, said, "Our position with respect to the United Mine Workers of America is absolutely independent of that which has been or hereafter may be taken either by the Colorado Fuel and Iron company, or by its officers or directors or by Mr. Rockefeller or John D. Rockefeller, Jr., although we heartily indorse the position they are now taking."

\* \* \*

Meanwhile battles were fought at Aguilar, Green Canon and Forbes, where the tent colony was destroyed and eleven persons killed. During this battle a machine gun, operated by a gunman by the





THE NEW TENT COLONY AT SAN RAFAEL.

name of Lane, was put out of business and the thugs had to retreat. Several mine tipples went up in smoke, and dynamite destroyed private property to the amount of several hundred thousand dollars. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., had previously testified before the Congressional Investigating Committee that the strike had cost the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company alone, more than a million dollars during the fiscal year.

"We stand ready to lose every cent we have invested in that company rather than that the workmen of this country should lose their right to work for whom they please," replied Rockefeller.

"You'll do that, even if you lose all your money and have all your employes killed?" said Foster.

"It's a great principle. It's a national issue. And we propose to support the officers in their course which is in support of the workmen themselves and their right to work for whom they please and how they please," returned the witness."

Thus speaks the young ruler of the owning class, which toils not, neither does it mine; yet claims to OWN the earth and the fullness thereof.

The "great principle" involved is merely the great privilege of legally robbing the workers who have the "right to work."

It is not a "national issue" with the workers, but a class issue, because the working class owns no country.

But there is another voice being heard in the land. It comes from the West, and is the call of the coal miner to his class, the working class. The voice has swelled into a million-throated challenge to the few, the owning class.

To John D. Rockefeller, Jr., it says: "You may be a model citizen, perhaps a member of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and surrounded by the odor of sanctity to boot; but the thing that you represent, which is face to face with us, has no heart in its breast nor halo over its head—the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company. You can not hide behind your 'high-minded officials,' nor your Calvary Church, nor your bodyguards of armed thugs.

"In spite of your prostituted press, your fawning preachers and college professors, your subsidized judges and their laws, the war is on and will continue until the despised miner shall be master of the mine."







HOW ABOUT IT?  
Courtesy of New York World.

## "LUDLOW"

By Clara Ruth Mozzor

**T**WO days following the Ludlow massacre I came upon the ruins of the tent colony. Ludlow was still a smouldering, smoking mass of ashes.

What was once the homes of these men who had come across the seas to build for their wives and babies was now an aching desolation. I came to get at the bottom of the trouble that caused a colony in which there were women and children to be fired on by machine guns and soldiers' rifles.

Waste and ruin, death and misery were the harvest of this war that was waged on helpless people. The ruthlessness of the steady fusillade of bullets from the machine guns turned against these people by the terrific force of capital in the human form of the inhuman octopus John D. Rockefeller, wiped out whole families, separated husbands and wives, mothers and babies and sent into the beyond little ones whose day of life was but a short time off.

Only a few weeks ago Ludlow was a colony of life. Eight American flags waved gladly in the air over its tents. Here was going on the making of Americans in this great western melting pot in the southern coal fields of Colorado.

And on these self-same ruins was enacted the most awful tragedy, the darkest chapter of American history, the Ludlow massacre when sleeping families were made the tar-

gets with which to break the backs of the strikers.

The very region of Ludlow is one of nature's hell holes, full of its dark canyons and deep arroyas, its hills and mountains. And in these mountains, in these Black Hills are scattered the men. Many of them do not know where their families are. Some of the women and children are still in the friendly ranch houses, while most of them are in the shelter of Trinidad homes and refuges thrown open to them.

The entire southern district is in the throes of war. Not civil, but industrial warfare, that has made such a reign of terror as must forever remain a black spot in the history of the state and nation. Ludlow is not the beginning of this war of desolation and sorrow. Seven months ago the union men went on strike. They demanded many things, but they were willing to waive them all should they only be given the recognition of their union.

Today in Ludlow stalks the spirit of the dead, the massacred and the slaughtered. Mothers with babies at their breasts and babies at their skirts and mothers with babies yet unborn were the targets of this modern warfare.

And why? is the question. "Why should this be so?" seems to be written across the early morning sky. The question is not now





WILLIAM A. GAMBLE, PASTOR OF ST. STEPHENS EPISCOPAL CHURCH, WHO READ THE SERVICE FOR THE DEAD ON MAY 3 IN FRONT OF 26 BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY.

one of who fired first, but why were women and children fired upon?

In Ludlow the militia answer the question. In Trinidad and where the refugees were, the miners answer the question.

Major Hamrock, the officer who was in command of the Ludlow militia on the day of the attack on the tent colony, to all questions answers only "Self defense."

"But the machine guns, they were used against women and babies; were they not?"

"Yes, but we thought they had fled."

"Where to? When? They had no time, had they?"

"No, but we thought they were gone."

"We gave them warning," said another officer.

"We had trained machine guns on the colony before," said still another.

No one agreed on the minor question of *why?* but all knew that machine guns were trained on the colony sometime early in the morning.

"Did you fire the tents?"

"No," was the answer, "that was due to an explosion in the camp." And that is the story of the militia. "Self defense, self defense," insisted the commanding officer.

And then comes the other side.

"They fired the machine guns on us to better destroy the colony," say the strikers.

"They came to us demanding that we deliver up to them a man who was never with us. They had no civil authority to search the camp and the military had already been removed.

"Then came a call for a conference with the Greek leader of the colony, Louis Tikas. He was coming back to us, waving a white flag in his hand, when two bombs went off and the firing started from the militia in front of us and the machine guns to the rear. Our men snatched their rifles and made an open dash for the hills, thinking thereby to draw the fire to themselves and leave us women and children free. But the militia was bent on exterminating us. They fired on us all day long. Some of us were in the pits and dugouts the men had made and some of us were in wells and in the pump house.

"And then at sundown," and the women have given this out on affidavit, "at sundown, we saw the soldiers go from tent to tent, and as they left each tent would become a blazing ruin."

"At night we fled, some to the ranch houses and some to the depot where a train took us to Trinidad."

This is the story of the refugees.

There was still another story. The story of the dead. On the afternoon that I was at Ludlow, out of one pit, the "Black Hole of Ludlow," the bodies of eleven children and two women were taken, smothered and mangled, charred, burned and swollen. One by one they were placed on the dead wagons and taken into Trinidad. Mexican women and two babies, a third that was to give birth in three months; another woman and her three children, and still another baby that was born dead three days after the



mother had been killed. This baby came after the mother was brought to Trinidad. Physicians said it was the strangest child-birth ever given to woman. That same day Charles Costa, the father of the family, was brought in from the sand pits in front of the Black Hills, where he had been doing duty, shot in two.

These were the dead.

In Trinidad were also the living dead. In a cheap boarding house, up several flights of steps, following winding corridors, in a dim lit windowless room, lay Mary Pedrigon. She was living and yet her mind was dead. She had escaped from Ludlow, but her babies were smothered in the pit that held those other women and children. Mary Pedrigon was thin and wasted. And over and over again her parched lips would re-

peat the names of her little ones, the only persons that Mary Pedrigon could remember.

In another house was a mother, three babies and a father. They were mourners. Frank Snyder, their ten-year-old boy, had been shot before their very eyes. The little one playing in the tiny room, happy and laughing, but in the ears of the mother was not the sound of the voices of the babies left to her, but of the boy, Frank, the back of whose head had been shot off by a bullet.

These are the stories; living and dead, of Ludlow. These were the incidents that marked the Ludlow massacre. These are facts as I found them and the people as I saw them.

And still in my ears rings the unanswered question, "Why?"



International News Service.

POLICE GUARD AT JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER'S NEW YORK CITY CHURCH, WHERE BOUCK WHITE WAS CLUBBED.





GUNMAN.

## THE LESSON OF LUDLOW

By Vincent St. John

THE massacre of striking miners, their wives and children, at Ludlow, Colo., by hired gunmen and state militia of the coal operators has served to emphasize the fact that the workers have no rights that the employers respect.

The use of degenerate thugs in strikes as the upholders of "Law and Order" is not confined to the state of Colorado. With few, if any, exceptions, they have been in evidence whenever the profits of the employers were attacked, or their control of industry seriously disputed. The degree of activity may have differed; they may have been clothed with the authority of a state or county at different times, but they have always been present to supply the might needed to enforce the dictates of the employing class.

The southwestern coal fields of Colorado have always been dominated by the rule of the gunman. In the past the peace (?) officers of that section have deported, beaten up, or murdered all organizers who attempted to interfere with the undisputed sway of the coal mine operators.

Whenever the discontent of the coal miners has crystallized sufficiently to give indication of concerted action, the

authorized thugs have been supplemented by special guards, whose sole function is to eliminate any and all of the miners whose activity and experience gives any promise of success in the attempt to form an organization.

The means and methods used to accomplish this end are and have been determined solely by one standard—results. The organizers have been waylaid and beaten up; they have been arrested upon trumped up charges and railroaded to jail or to the penitentiary; they have been goaded by petty persecutions into giving the professional gunman an opportunity to use his superior skill with a gun under the pretense of "self defense"; and when all other methods have failed the active workers have been ambushed and slain by "parties unknown."

When the strike finally occurs—and conditions under which the miners work make that inevitable—the gunman is given free hand to create a reign of terror. If the strikers refuse to be intimidated and prove equal to defending themselves, the state is then called upon to send the militia to the scene.

The arrival of the militia means that "law and order" is enforced upon the strikers, and that the gunmen have added

security in carrying out the program of intimidating the strike out of existence. Martial law is declared if necessary. The most active and experienced of the strikers' forces are arrested upon trumped up charges; held without bail or trial; refused counsel or an opportunity to communicate with friends or their organization. The flimsy pretext of "military necessity" is resorted to, and drum head trials by a military court martial threatened.

If these methods do not succeed in breaking the strike and the resources of the state will not permit keeping the militia in field, the gunmen in the pay of the mine owners are enlisted as militia and allowed to carry on their depredations clothed in the uniforms of, and with the power of, the state behind them.

It will be noticed that the board of inquiry appointed by the mine owners' lackey—the Governor of Colorado—to investigate the Ludlow Massacre has reported that the strikers were responsible for starting the conflict. The burning of the strikers' tents and the shooting of women and children, however, they grudgingly admit was the work of company gunmen, some of whom may, or possibly were in the uniform of the state militia. Sure Mike! Every corporation lickspittle from Maine to California knew that. Why should the board waste time and paper emphasizing the obvious?

Why not also charge the strikers with setting fire to their own property, and shooting their wives and children? Men who have so little respect for "law and order" as to endure the hardships of braving the reign of terror that has always existed in the southern Colorado coal fields in an effort to gain some of the comforts of life for themselves and their families would be just the ones to shoot and burn their wives and children. Every one who is not prejudiced would see the point. Why did the board not embrace the opportunity to serve their masters well and at the same time announce a startling truth? Why leave this blot upon the reputations of the militia's comrades in arms?

Of course the board of inquiry admits that some of the gunmen may have worn uniforms of the state. This admission leads to the question what is the differ-

ence between a gunman and a militiaman? Some of the readers of *THE REVIEW* may have read Mark Twain's "Tom Sawyer." If so they will remember that Tom and his chum, Huckleberry Finn, once rafted down the Mississippi river to New Orleans. At some point on their journey they met with two professional tramps. From the story it appears that the tramps in some way sensed the romantic spirits of the two boys, and forthwith hit upon the plan of representing themselves as the exiled claimant of the throne of France and his faithful gentleman in waiting.

The two adventurers were delighted to accept the company of royalty on the trip. They were glad to provide for the wants of their royal guests without exacting any service in return. One day, however, the royal guests succeeded in securing sufficient liquor to become thoroughly drunk. With drunkenness vanished all of the courtly mannerisms that had served to impress their royal status upon the two adventuresome boys. The King and the Duke lay huddled together in a drunken stupor on one corner of the raft. Doubt began to creep into the minds of the boys. This doubt was voiced by Huckleberry Finn in a question to his chum. "What," he asked, "is the difference between a King and a Duke?" Tom Sawyer, after sizing up the huddled figures of their royal guests, replied, "They ain't no difference, Huck, leastaways, I guess you can't tell it when they're both drunk." So it is with the gunmen and the militia. "They ain't no difference" between them so far as the working class are concerned. They will both maim, kill, torture, and cremate men, women and children of the working class whenever the interest of the employers demands.

The tragic feature of the Ludlow Massacre is not that some of the strikers were killed. They died fighting. Fighting against odds. But they died fighting as men should. Their wives and little ones who perished by bullet and flame and smoke died a horrible death. But the only fate in store for them if the strike was lost was one of horror, long drawn out in the fierce struggle for existence that would have been their lot. The tragic part is, that men and women of the



working class have to struggle against conditions that culminate in a Ludlow massacre before they are able to arouse their fellow workers to even a faint sense of that solidarity which should exist among the workers as a class, and which would make outrages such as occurred at Ludlow impossible.

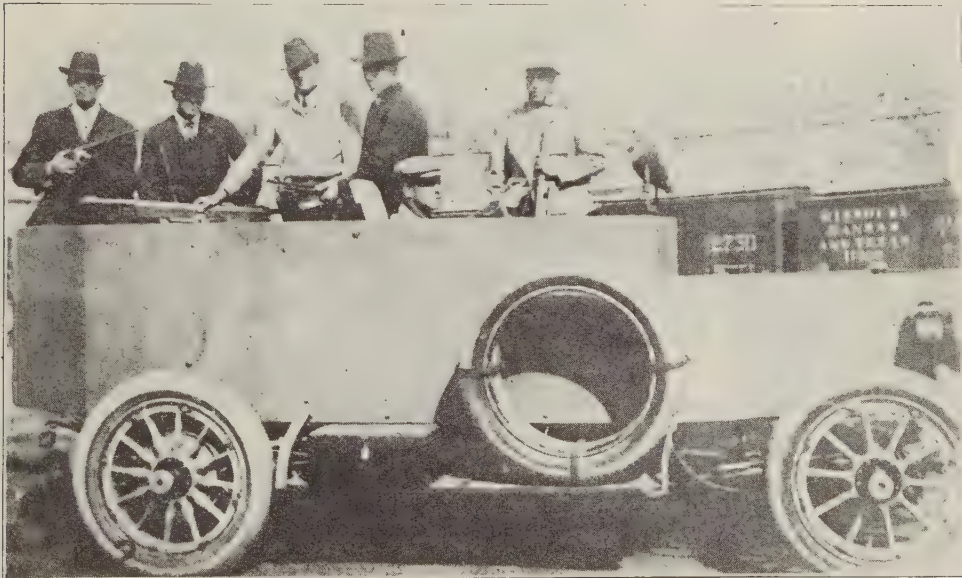
It is well that the workers organized and unorganized have responded with funds to enable the strikers to maintain and defend themselves. Nothing else would serve the immediate needs of the men and women on the firing line. It is better still to note the spirit that has actuated workers who have declared their intention of taking an actual part in the conflict if necessary. But the problem can not be solved by meeting the hirings of the employing class in armed conflict, however necessary such actions may be at times.

There is but one way that the workers

can avenge Ludlow. There is but one way that they can prevent its repetition in some future struggle for better conditions.

That way is to so organize that never again will any body of workers have to carry on a protracted struggle against the employers, isolated from all save financial and moral support. Let the example set by the four train crews who refused to operate trains carrying soldiers and gunmen into the strike bound camps be our inspiration for the future. Let us resolve that from this time on, an injury to one is the concern of all and that the wheels of industry shall stop and profits shall cease to flow into the coffers of any of the employing class whenever any part of our class is engaged in a fight for better conditions.

If this lesson be learned, the death of the miners and their wives and children at Ludlow will not have been in vain.



STEEL ARMORED AUTOMOBILE, SHOWING RAPID FIRE GUN AND MINE GUARDS. THE PHOTOGRAPHER WHO TOOK THIS PICTURE WAS BEATEN UP.



From The Masses.

SERENE ONLOOKER (TO THE STRIKER): "VERY UNFORTUNATE SITUATION, BUT WHATEVER YOU DO, DON'T USE FORCE."





Courtesy Ohio State Journal.

COMPANIONS.

## WHOSE WAR IS THIS?

By Mary E. Marcy

WELL, the brave boys have gone into Mexico to silence those noisy kickers, who have so long objected to having their land taken away from them.

If they kill off a few thousand of them, perhaps the rest will decide they'd better be "good" and go to work on Hearst's land or in some of the Rockefeller oil fields, or in one of the Guggenheim mines, as the capitalists in America want them to.

Then dear old Uncle S—(I almost said "Uncle Sam")—then dear old Uncle John D. can tell congress and the senate and President Wilson to hoist the red, white and blue over his new territory and "everybody will be happy."

Things will be settled, because most everybody who knows what's coming and lets out a kick, will be buried. And William Hearst's paid patriots can write yards of editorials on "How We Saved Mexico." There will be no chance then for a come back against Hearst by the people who have been defrauded of their land in Mexico.

And it will be just as clear sailing for dear old Uncle John D. in Mexico as it is for him and his interests in Colorado now.

Of course the *Mexicans* will get nothing through a war with us. They have been fighting Huerta and the master class in Mexico to get back the lands that have been stolen from them, but after the American workingmen soldiers get through with them, those who are left may be willing to stand anything.

The boys who do the fighting will get nothing. Some of them will be killed and some of them will be crippled, but beyond that they will only have the glory of subduing the Mexican *working* class, so that the American *master* class may go over and grab up the rest of Mexico's natural resources just as they have grabbed up everything from the working class in these United States. Subduing our Mexican brothers will merely give those who have so long robbed and exploited US the LEGAL right to so rob and exploit the Mexicans.

Some people say Hearst and Rockefeller

ought to lead the troops into Mexico since nearly all the fuss is about Hearst's ranches and Rockefeller's oil wells down there. They think this is THEIR fight. But what's the use of a millionaire going to war and risking his life and limbs when the army and navy is all ready to hand to be used in just such emergencies.

You can see the soldier boys marching down the streets to the tune of brass bands and waving American flags and strutting and boasting! They think they are actually going to fight Mexico because Huerta didn't salute the flag as many times as we told him to. They think they are going to uphold the DIGNITY of the United States by killing a lot of poor Mexicans who have not the least idea of what all the trouble is about.

I wish all these boys would stop and consider who will be benefited by a war with Mexico. If the rebelling Mexican working class is permitted to defeat the rich land-grabbers IN MEXICO, they can defy the rich land-grabbers OUT of it and then they will redistribute the land back among the people who formerly held it. No matter WHICH side wins, the United States *workers* will gain NOTHING BY WAR WITH MEXICO.

If we FORCE the Mexican workers into peace—it will mean peaceful submission to the Rockefellers and Hearsts. It will mean that the capitalists in America may continue to hold the LANDS that have been stolen from the small land holders in Mexico.

The American capitalists have sufficient gray matter to let the working men do their fighting for them. They hire clever writers to grind out editorials about how we will take over Mexico and place it under the Stars and Stripes that the Mexicans may rejoice over the good fortune of being admitted to this glorious land of the FREEDOM to use MACHINE GUNS AGAINST WOMEN AND CHILDREN!

Any WISE Mexican workingman would know that this merely means putting them out of the frying pan into the fire. He would prefer to be in Mexico at its WORST than in Colorado among the uniformed gunmen today. They don't kill women and children in MEXICO. Such barbarity only happens in America, where the Rockefeller interests have LEGAL backing in anything

they may choose to do to the working class.

The wars in Mexico and in Colorado are BOTH Standard Oil wars, to a very large extent. We ought to remember this when folks grow wildly patriotic.

Besides, why *should* you and I be patriotic? If we are working men or working women, we HAVE NO COUNTRY. We don't even have a place to eat and sleep, unless we are able to find a boss to pay us wages; and when we are out of work, as we were this winter in every city in the United States, every "public-spirited" city and state official is out with guns and the fire hose to drive us off the face of the earth. Unless we have a job, we are driven from city to city, from state to state, from nation to nation by the everlasting chorus of "MOVE ON." WE HAVE NO COUNTRY.

It wouldn't get US anything if the U. S. army and navy whipped the whole earth. You and I would do the fighting and killing and dying and the American capitalist class would grab up the natural resources and then hire SOME of us at starvation wages in the MINES we had WON FOR THEM.

The working men and women of ALL countries are OUR countrymen. There are only two great classes in society. Those who OWN everything and those who WORK for these idle owners. The only man worth fighting is the man who ROBS us. The only CLASS worth fighting is the class that exploits the workers.

We should regard the capitalist as the only FOREIGNER. We regard every working man and woman as our countrymen. You work in a mine in Indiana. The man who owns that mine is an English aristocrat. My neighbor works in a brass foundry in Illinois. His boss is German and lives in Berlin. The capitalist who exploits my fellow worker is an American. Your interests and the interests of my neighbor and my fellow worker are identical. The interests of ALL workers are identical. Our only enemy is the capitalist class, the class that, under every flag, hires us for wages and retains for itself the things WE WORKERS PRODUCE.

American working men have no quarrel with Mexican working men. Their interests are OUR interests. We are both



robbed by the capitalist class and the only way we can stop this robbery is by uniting under the banner of SOCIALISM.

We must unite to demand the collective ownership of the mines, the mills, the factories, railroads, land and oil wells. United we can abolish the present system of society and make the enormous tools of production the common property of all those who perform any useful service in society.

The CLASS WAR—the war of the propertyless and exploited working class against those who live off their labor—this is the ONLY WAR worth while. This is the ONLY war that can benefit OUR class because it will give every working man and woman the right to work and to have the FULL VALUE OF HIS PRODUCT!

The only war in which we should engage is the working class war, which will abolish Poverty from the face of the earth!

## MORE MURDERED CHILDREN!

### A Letter From the Front in Mexico

The following is a letter sent by one of the Marine Boys who is at present in Vera Cruz. We shall publish it just as written. It gives the best idea of how we are "squaring things up with Huerta" that we have ever seen. How many more women and children must die in order that John D. Rockefeller may have peace to exploit the workers in Colorado and Mexico?

Vera Cruz, Mexico, April 29, 1914.

DEAR SISTER—A few lines to let you know that I am still living and in good health. We have been fighting here. Things have quieted down for the time being. The marines done all the fighting, though a few sailors took part in the battle. We took this town and over 300 Mexicans were killed. Seventeen of our men were killed and 63 wounded. I have received no wounds, but there is lots of time yet.

The Army came in to Vera Cruz yesterday. They are coming all the time. I guess we will do more fighting. The next move will be to take Mexico City. Of course that will mean a big fight and it will not be so easy as this one.

Sister, it is a sight to look upon seeing all these greasers falling on the street and being carried to the hospitals. The people who can't afford a burial are just left to lay on the streets. Our soldiers have orders to pile them up in the streets and burn them with the horses and mules that were killed in the battle.

I never expected to live through this battle because so many of our men were killed BY OUR OWN MEN. They would get excited and shoot any way they looked first. We had to search all the buildings for arms and ammunition and while we were doing it we were being shot at from all directions. You would hear a bullet hit the side of a brick wall along side you and at the same time taking out a big chunk of the wall, and

when you would look to see who was doing the firing, some one in that direction would fire at you. So if you don't get a bullet hole in you, you can say you are a lucky man.

After the first few shots were fired I did not mind them so, but at first when they are shooting on all sides of you it kind of gets on your nerves. None of our bunch got hurt. But the second regiment done all the hard fighting and we came in behind them searching. The first regiment lost several men and 63 wounded. We don't draw no pay while this war is going on. I think we will be here for some time because the U. S. won't go and leave this city after capturing it.

We marines have got the railroad trains on the go and all the city lights in good order. People are coming in every day to make this place their home.

I forgot to tell you of the battle ships. How they used their big guns and picked off all the sharpshooters in this city. They just tore up the town. I wish you could have seen the excitement. One shot killed over a hundred school kids that were in school and fifty men shooting at our men. Everywhere you looked you would see a dead Spick, and the streets all over blood. Sad sight to look upon. I will bring my letter to a close, hoping to hear from you soon.

I. D.

Company F., U. S., Vera Cruz, Mexico.



CONTRACTING LABOR AGENTS.

PEONS.

## THE SITUATION IN MEXICO

By Manuel Sarabia

**T**ODAY the American people want to know "all" about Mexico. They have waited too long. When passions run high, a cold and impartial judgment is difficult, if not impossible. This, of course, does not apply to the Socialists and other radicals, who are made of a different type from the average "patriot."

"Salute the flag!" The bandit fails to do it, and therefore the United States government makes war upon Mexico.

"Is that sufficient cause for war?" ask several senators. NO, but the "interests" and the jingo demand intervention, because "Mexico is incapable of self-government; Mexicans are savages; they need to have Americans as guardians."

Ah! But are the United States without fault? The state of practical slavery of the negroes in some of your Southern states; the strong prejudices against Mexicans and other races considered inferior, and the atrocities in West Virginia and Colorado, where men, women and children have been deprived of their civil rights and even massacred, is more than sufficient to scare the "Mexican savages."

President Wilson wants to make war upon Huerta, the man, or the monster, if you prefer. Congress, very ingeniously also

disclaims any hostilities against the Mexican people. What has been the result so far? That the monster is perfectly safe in Mexico City and the Mexican people at Vera Cruz have been bombarded with the outcome that three or four hundred have been killed.

The "interests" have forced intervention in Mexico, claiming that it is a crime to let the Mexicans murder each other, but in spite of all the unspeakable lies invented by the capitalist press about "the Mexican atrocities," the truth is forcing its way through the same press. The *New York World* said the 29th of last April, editorially: "There will be no permanent peace in Mexico until the peon is on land that belongs to the peon, and is protected in his ownership. The Mexican problem is an agrarian problem. The great mass of people are living under feudalism. They own nothing. A few men own everything. There are great states in which practically all the land is in the hands of a dozen proprietors, and the peasant population lives in semi-slavery."

That is exactly the situation in Mexico. To understand well the present conditions, we have to go back to 1858, the year in which the great Benito Juarez became president of Mexico. He was a pure-blooded



Indian, educated in his childhood by a priest. Juarez was a reformer of gigantic magnitude. He gave to Mexico the famous "Leyes de Reforma"—reform laws—which caused the total separation of the church and state, and the confiscation in favor of the nation of all church property, including very large tracts of land. Juarez knew, by his own experience, that the church was in the way of the liberation of his people. Therefore, he demolished its power.

One of those reform laws dealing with the land read: "The subdivision of the great estates will be assigned to the tillers of the soil upon the payment of a small sum to cover the expenses of subdivision and assignment." Not much was accomplished in that direction, owing to the early death of Juarez, also to the fact that during all his administration he had to face civil war and the intervention brought to Mexico by the Catholic and conservative leaders, which ended with the execution of Emperor Maximilian.

In 1876 Porfirio Diaz revolted against the constitutional government, and in 1877 was inaugurated president of Mexico. During his long rule the church and aristocracy joined their forces with the army. Diaz threw aside the constitution and began to rule with the sword. The soldiers, priests and capitalists became arrogant, the girls were the prey of the brutes, the Indians were robbed and enslaved or murdered when they protested.

Diaz issued a law calling upon all landed proprietors to produce their titles of ownership. This law had for its aim the dispossession of the communal lands given to the towns centuries ago by the rulers of Spain in order that their people would divide them among the inhabitants and each householder could have his own plot to raise his vegetables and pasture his animals.

When all these people found themselves destitute and robbed of their patrimony, the only thing left for them was to go to work in the plantations as slaves. Some innocent Indians hired attorneys and appealed to the Supreme Court, trying to recover their lands, but of course without avail.

The feudal system under Diaz was working with perfect ease, while American and European writers who visited Mexico "to study social conditions" or interview the

dictator were praising him as the greatest statesman in the world!

Diaz gave enormous land concessions to foreigners, but specially to Spaniards. That is why the people hate them now just as much as one hundred years ago. Villa is doing the right thing—expelling them from the country.

The hacendados,\* feudal lords, had many men in their employment as contracting labor agents, who worked in conjunction with the authorities. Their mission was to offer the Indians work with good salary, an advancement of 20 pesos and make them sign a contract. The Indian, ignorant of the trap, always accepted. As he could not read or write, there were always at hand two men to sign as witnesses for him. Afterwards his picture was taken and attached to the contract. When the labor agents had a hundred or so of peons they shipped them in locked cars one thousand miles away. Once in the plantation, the peon discovered that he had to work sixteen hours every day under the burning tropical sun, the food was only a mere pittance, and the "good salary" consisted of a few centavos. The peon had to ask some advancements for medicines and the like, and at the end of six months, when his contract ran out, he found himself heavily in debt—possibly 100 pesos—which sum he had to pay before leaving. As the wretched man was never able to pay his debt, he became the property of the hacendado. If the peon ever attempted to escape, he was returned to his owner by the authorities, who, as an example for the others, ordered him to be flogged until he was nearly dead.

This feudal system could not go on forever. The debauchery of the soldiery, the despotism of the privileged class and the wholesale confiscation of land, brought the rapid downfall of Diaz as soon as Madero led the people to revolt.

Madero offered to restore the land to the dispossessed, but he failed to keep his word. Zapata, chief of the Southern army, composed of ten thousand Indians, sent representatives to Mexico City to interview

\*This word is derivated from "hacienda," farm. Some of these hacendados own so much land that it would take you several days on horseback to go through them. The state of Yucatan, where the henequen is cultivated, is owned by sixteen men called "Los Reyes del Henequen"; the state of Morelos by eighteen families, mostly Spaniards, and in Chihuahua, before Villa confiscated all the land, ex-governor Terrazas owned 25,000,000 acres; that is, this "hacendado" owned as much land as there is in Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island combined.



A PLANTATION IN MEXICO.

Madero. "What about the land?" they asked. The president answered that he had to act in a constitutional way. "We have to make some studies of the agrarian question," he said. Zapata and his men did not know anything about agrarian questions; they were promised the immediate restitution of the land and they were going to get it. They were an important factor in the elevation of Madero and also in his downfall. Zapata and his men were the first to revolt against Madero. They have been fighting already for three years. Thousands of soldiers have been sent to exterminate them. The tactics of General Weyler in Cuba, whose brutal concentration system won for him the universal title of butcher, have been put in operation against the Zapatistas, with the result that hundreds of them, including women and children, have been murdered, but in spite of this, the superior force of the enemy and the innumerable hardships of their miserable life on the mountains, they continue to fight for land and liberty. Only those intimate with the last three years' struggle in Mexico can understand the great love these people have for the soil which they want to recover.

The revolution in the north has the same bearing. It is a genuine social and economic struggle which necessarily will lead

to the emancipation of the peon and to a radical government. Socialists and anarchists are found everywhere in Mexico. Villa, Manuel Banda, Antonio Villarreal, Castulo Herrera, Jose Rios, etc., rebel leaders, are either Socialists or Socialist sympathizers.

The great warrior Villa has confiscated large estates from wealthy Mexicans and Spaniards and has divided them among the poor. So the campaign of expropriation is already going on in Mexico, and Villa, the "bandit," is the soul of the movement.

Carranza, the recognized chief of the Constitutionalists, is a man of the type of Madero. He is making radical speeches and he is promising the millennium, as the murdered president did. If Carranza were left alone probably he would forget all his promises, but Mexico has come to a stage where personalities do not count. *Land and liberty*—that is the issue. Out of the present revolution, if there is going to be peace, the subdivision of the soil must be accomplished. The Indians in arms are no more the prey of the hacendado. Now they understand that they have a right to the land that they cultivated for long years under the whip of the master. That is why we see that the opposite forces, feudal lords and Church and army leaders, are lined to a man, fighting with all their powers.



Huerta's personality has no importance in the struggle. It is his position that counts. He is the representative of the rotten but very powerful element of the country. No doubt, Huerta's coming into power was a great calamity for Mexico. It marked the return of the pretorian revolts, so dangerous and abominable because they trample upon all the laws and humane institutions of the land. His brutal and violent methods will only accelerate the triumph of justice. The present danger for Mexico is not Huerta, but the American intervention. All the Mexican papers controlled by Huerta are appealing to the patriotism of the people to rally to him to defend the honor of the nation. That is the last stronghold of the dictator, who is posing as the savior of his country.

The dictator's strength consists in the loyalty of the army officers and the Catholic leaders. Juan Sarabia, leader of the Liberal party, who has been in the penitentiary ever since Huerta dissolved Congress, a few days before the dissolution, said in the house: "We cannot allow President Huerta to appoint Mr. Tamariz (leader of the Catholic party) to the portfolio of Public Instruction, because it is right there that the new generation is formed. We have seen that pretorians and clericals understand each other well, but it is our duty to prevent this new calamity." Huerta was defeated, but a few days later he put all the Liberal deputies in prison, brought Tamariz to his cabinet and appointed another Catholic leader chief of the cabinet. By this you will clearly understand that the Mexican revolution is a revolution that cannot be made in one day. Church, army and aristocracy are linked together against the common people. The first three powers have plenty of money, arms, the confessionals, and the support of foreign powers, while the rebels have only the strength that justice gives.

The American so-called intervention against Huerta is, in fact, in his favor, as it helps him to the extent that he can pose as a hero and gain the support even of those who want him eliminated from Mexican politics. Mr. Wilson and all his advisers must understand that in landing American forces in Mexican territory they hurt the most sensitive spot of the Mexican, who before anything else loves his country. And then, we know that there

is not justification for war. One of the leading citizens of Boston says: "The talk of war upon such petty pretexts is disproportionate and monstrous to the point of grotesqueness. Compare these trivial affronts to the indignities suffered by England when the Russians fired on her fishermen at Dogger Bank, killing several of them and sinking their boat. Think of the dignity and self-restraint with which, despite the clamor, the government dealt with that situation."

I do not care to prophesy how many years, how many million dollars, and how many men a war with Mexico would cost the United States. I will only give these figures. It required three years' fighting for 400,000 British soldiers to subdue 100,000 Boers, at a cost of \$1,250,000,000. Mexico is a much larger country—767,274 square miles, very mountainous, and with a population of fourteen millions.

The Mexicans must be left alone to work out their own salvation. The present revolution has to be fought to a finish to avoid new outbreaks in the future. Perhaps the American "interests" will suffer, but they ought to understand that their own representative in Mexico, Henry Lane Wilson, is partly responsible for the actual events in Mexico. His personal interest in the Felicista cause and his speech of congratulation to Huerta for the overthrow of the constitutional government which brought about the recognition of Huerta's government by European powers, are well known in this country, and that alone ought to make the capitalists more cautious.

Blood is being shed in Mexico, but the sentimentalists must know that all this expenditure of blood will be the dear price paid for the liberation of the people. The *New York World* in the editorial we quote elsewhere said: "If our great western states today were owned by a little handful of men, some of them foreigners, and the great mass of people eked out a scanty existence at the pleasure of the proprietors and their governmental agents, we should have nothing but civil war."

The revolution in Mexico is a movement towards peace, based upon the individual human rights. The people were robbed, abused and tyrannized until they could bear it no longer. The dawn of a new bright day will soon come for these people. Let them work out their own salvation.

# REVOLT OF THE RAILROAD WORKERS

By Eugene V. Debs

THERE is a distinct trend toward industrial unionism in the ranks of railroad employes and some interesting developments may be expected along that line in the near future. The unions representing the various branches in the train service are seething with discontent and ripening rapidly for revolt against craft union policy and craft union reaction. They have played the game to the limit and the rank and file are beginning to realize that there is nothing in it for them, even when they win.

The arbitration of the recent wage disputes between the employes and the companies have brought little comfort to the employes and their condition is substantially the same as it was before. The enormous assessments they have been required to pay to maintain these wage movements, which have proved next to fruitless, have provoked widespread comment and bitter resentment. These monthly assessments upon the rank and file to maintain their craft unions amounts in many instances to almost as much as house rent, and the burden falls upon many thousands who are unable to bear it without serious deprivation to themselves and families.

It has been estimated that the cost of these wage movements has been over half a million dollars to the unions of the train service alone. The men are being taxed to death for protection which they do not get, and they are beginning to ripen for revolt. Were it not for their insurance features, disintegration would have set in long ago. That is mainly what holds these unions together today.

The strike of the enginemen and trainmen of the Monongahela division of the Pennsylvania railroad was an illuminating instance of the trend toward industrialism, and the stand taken by their national leaders has left a bitter taste in the mouths of the rank and file.

There had been intense dissatisfaction among the trainmen of the Pennsylvania ever since their grand officers sided with the company in crushing the strike of the shop employes at Pittsburgh, Altoona and other points. The trainmen sympathized with the striking shopmen and some of them went out on strike in support of them, but were promptly ordered back by their grand officers under threat of being discharged by the company, expelled by the brotherhood and having their places filled from the ranks of their own union. From that time to this trouble has been brewing among the Pennsylvania trainmen, and when they struck on the Monongahela division they went out in a body—conductors, brakemen, engineers, firemen, telegraphers and others—and in defiance of their national officers and the ironclad restrictions of their craft unions.

In this connection it is interesting to note that in these antiquated unions the "grand chief," or by whatever other title he may be known, still exercises the despotic power over the rank and file which made P. M. Arthur of the locomotive engineers such a prime favorite with the railroad companies to the day of his death. There can be no strike or cessation of work without the "sanction" of the grand mogul. The rank and file may vote on a strike and make it unanimous, but it must still have official "sanction" before the men can go out. How it is possible for a union to tolerate such czarism and for its members to empower one of their own servants to tie them hand and foot when a crisis is upon them is almost beyond understanding.

Referring again to the strike on the Monongahela division of the Pennsylvania, the sentiment was practically unanimous in favor of industrial unionism, and they at once effected an organization which they called THE INDUSTRIAL RAILWAY UNION. It so happened that the miners



in the Monongahela valley were out at the same time and at the demonstration they held at California, which I had the privilege of addressing, fully ten thousand mine workers and railroad employes were assembled and made common cause, and to see the rank and file of these two great industrial bodies intermingle, fraternize and clasp each other by the hand, was a sight as prophetic of future industrialism as it was a source of present inspiration. As an indication of the industrial union sentiment which prevailed there, the miners, although themselves idle and facing a long strike, took up a collection which amounted to several hundred dollars for the benefit of the striking railroad men, and while the miners who were in no way connected with them by the ties of organization were thus helping them to win their strike, the members of their own craft unions were taking their jobs by order of their own leaders.

About this one lesson in industrial unionism alone a volume might be written. It turns a flashlight upon both industrial unionism and craft unionism and reveals in vivid contrast the power and majesty of the one and the weakness and servility of the other. The traffic of the line was completely paralyzed and trains had to be abandoned, but not a word had the capitalist press to say about it. Everything was done to suppress the revolt and to prevent any report of it from going out to the country. At the time I was there the tie-up was practically complete and this notwithstanding trainmen were coming in there with union cards in their pockets under orders from their leaders to take the places of the members of their own unions who were out on strike. Of course, the striking trainmen were at a white heat of indignation but perhaps just this kind of an object lesson was necessary to show railroad men who have kept themselves tied up in craft unions and held aloof from their class all these years how that kind of unionism works in a strike and how admirably it is adapted to the interests of the railroads by keeping the employes divided and virtually forcing them to scab on one another.

The craft union leaders may flatter themselves that in alliance with the railroad officials they have suppressed this strike by filling the vacant places with members of the

same unions as those that were out on strike, but they will find before many days that what they actually did was to kindle a fire of industrial unionism among their craft unions which will spread in all directions and which will never be extinguished until the railroad workers are industrially united in harmonious co-operation with all other industrial workers.

When the train crews of the Colorado Southern, three of them in rapid succession, refused to haul the uniformed man-killers and strike-breakers, called the state militia, to the mining camps of that state a few days ago to murder the striking miners, it was in obedience to their class instinct and expressive of the spirit of industrial unionism even though it was in violation of their craft union obligations and subjected them to the penalty of expulsion from their unions.

The railroad men of Colorado, the loyal unionists among them, are heart and soul with the striking miners, and if it was not for the craft union fetters which bind them to their tasks they would be out with the miners and not a crew would there be to haul the soldiers to shoot the strikers and protect the scabs, or to handle the scab product of the mines. As it is, these railroad men feel, as they have admitted to me, that they are indirectly scabbing on the miners and helping Rockefeller and his butchers to slaughter and roast their wives and babies, and these men are in revolt against the craft unions which force them into an attitude against which their better nature rebels, and they will eagerly welcome the opportunity to throw off the fetters which bind them and unite with their fellow workers in the bonds of industrial unionism.

I have already made reference to the dismal failure of arbitration so far as any substantial results to the employes are concerned. The eyes of many, especially the younger element, are being opened to the hollowness of the claims put forth by the unions as to their power to protect the rights and safeguard the interests of their members. The recent arbitration fiasco has been of great service in helping the rank and file to see the light.

The railroads clamored for an amendment to the Erdman Act, claiming that under its provisions they could not get a square deal,

and they flim-flammed the chiefs of the unions into joining with them in asking for an amendment to the law. Notwithstanding the fact that under the Erdman Act the employes got the long end of the settlement the chiefs were inveigled into "co-operating" with the railroad managers in demanding an amendment which was written by the managers. It turned out just as anyone of sense must have known it would, namely, the railroads are now getting the long end and the employes the short end of the arbitration.

As a matter of fact it was the late Edward Moseley, Secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and a friend to the railroad employes, who wrote the Erdman Act and had it passed through congress before the railroads realized what there was in it, and it was probably as good an arbitration law for the employes as it would be possible to get under a capitalist government. It was far too good to suit the railroads and as soon as they found themselves up against its provisions they began to clamor for its amendment and promptly, to demonstrate their loyalty to the men who paid their salaries, the civic federation leaders of the craft unions helped the railroad managers to gain their point, and the rank and file are now reaping the legitimate fruit of the perfidy or the crass stupidity of their own leaders.

The railroad workers as well as the mine workers are having their eyes opened to the class war and to the imperative necessity for industrial organization. The heavy assessments and light benefits of the craft unions are driving their members toward industrial unionism and they are ripening rapidly for the change.

The two miners' unions are ready for consolidation. Colorado, Michigan and West Virginia all bear the same testimony and

the slaughter and sacrifice in those states cry aloud for it.

The industrial mine workers and the industrial railroad workers in harmonious co-operation should in the near future become a realized fact.

What a gigantic power there is in the very suggestion of such an industrial combination!

In the days of long ago when I still shoveled coal into the fire-box of a locomotive the thought already occurred to me that railroad men and miners, being so near and so necessary to each other, should be in close union alliance and I often wondered why there was such an aloofness between them, why they persisted in remaining strangers notwithstanding they were so closely related, and why they struck and lost separately instead of striking and winning together.

The railroad and mine workers combined can of themselves halt every wheel and close down every industry. Why then, in the face of the threatening conditions that confront them upon every hand, do they not unify their forces and fight together under the banner of industrial unionism?

If the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners will consolidate, as they undoubtedly should, and that without the unnecessary loss of a day, then pull out of the Civic-American Federation of Labor and issue a call to all bona fide labor unions for a convention for the purpose of effecting the industrial organization of the American workers, it will mean the greatest working class convention ever held and will be rapidly followed by the most powerful consolidation of labor's forces ever known in the United States.

In that direction lies the triumphant industrial organization of the American workers and the road to industrial emancipation.



# THE VALUE OF THE STRIKE

By Ferdinand Maroris

THE South African Labor party have recently gained one seat in the legislative assembly of the union, one seat in the Kroonstad municipal council, three seats in the Bloemfontein municipal council, one seat in the Cape Provincial council, three seats in the Natal Provincial council, and twenty-one seats in the Transvaal Provincial council, in which body they enjoy an absolute majority of one.

Every one of these contests was fought on four issues only: Martial law, deportations, indemnity act and the peace "preservation" bill. And not one of these issues would have been raised, had it not been for the strikes of July, 1913, and January, 1914. And yet the intelligent gentlemen who lead the South African Labor party are now telling us that strikes in general are an obsolete and futile weapon, and that the general strike in particular can only spell disaster for the working class! If the only effect of a strike, sectional or general, were the election of "labor" leaders who advocate constitutional methods of revolutionizing capitalism out of existence, then we might perhaps agree that industrial action is certainly proven to be an utter failure, except as regards the providing of politicians with soft jobs. (An ordinary member of the provincial council gets \$50 a month and a member of the legislative assembly gets \$165 a month, apart from such perquisites as a free railway pass, appointment on commissions, etc., etc.) So it can be seen that to be a "labor" politician is becoming quite a lucrative profession in these democratic days.

Happily, however, the provision of regular incomes for labor legislators is only the political reflex of an economic upheaval. It does not mitigate the essential fact that the strike is the one thing—and the only thing—which can educate the workers, which can force capitalism to reveal its true class character, which can show the workers where their strength and their weakness lie.

Thousands of trade unionists of the sane and sane variety believed with Cresswell, Andrews & Company that the South African defense force was a splendid thing, because it trained young men to bear arms for

the safeguarding of liberty against foreign aggression. They would not listen to the rabid revolutionist, who pointed out that the defense force would prove a splendid weapon for the protection of capitalism, or, to put it the other way round, for the subjugation of wage workers. Nothing but actual experience would convince them of the fact. That experience they got as a result of the strikes of July and January, and now they are just as convinced as the most rabid revolutionary that soldiers and policemen are meant for the protection of the life and property of capitalism and capitalism only. I take it that every class-conscious wage worker will agree that such a valuable lesson was well worth learning, even at the cost of a general strike. And I take it that no one will dispute the fact that it could not have been learned in any other way. The next time a general strike takes place in South Africa (and another will come soon), members of the defence force will be called upon to refuse to act as scabs.

The workers of this or of any other country have it in their power to seize and run industries for their own benefit, whenever they feel inclined so to do. They have the power, but they do not realize their own strength. Anything that helps them to realize their strength and to realize the need for exerting that strength is a good thing from their point of view. Therefore, it follows that every unjust, arbitrary, tyrannical or murderous act of the master class, acting as a stimulant to working class action on the industrial field is an educative factor of the very highest importance.

Sectional strikes are easily defeated by a combination of masters, not because the masters so combined are stronger than the strikers, but because the masters are relying upon the support they get from other bodies of organized workers, who, whether they know it or not, are playing the part of strike breakers. That is why a sectional strike does not usually call for an elaborate display of the repressive forces of capitalism. When, however, a general strike breaks out, the matter of obtaining a sup-

ply of scabs becomes extremely difficult, not to say dangerous, and then the masters, much to their annoyance and alarm, are compelled to use large bodies of soldiers and police under pretext of maintaining "law and order." They deceive no one by so doing. They only arouse working class hatred, which is the very thing they are most anxious to avoid. A general strike is, therefore, *always* successful from a working class point of view and *always* disastrous from a master class point of view.

Capitalism—the system whereby the many pile up profits for the few—can only maintain itself upon the assumption that the interests of masters and servants are identical. Politics, it seems to me, is merely the machinery by which this pretense is kept up. No attempt is made to arrive at a solution of the bread and butter problem, because such solution would only mean the dissolution of the profit-making system. Thus we find different political red herrings thrown over the economic trail in different countries. The American red herring is the tariff question or, perhaps, so-called anti-trust legislation. The British red herring is church disestablishment, home rule, or woman's suffrage. In South Africa it is called Hertzogism, or the question as to whether Dutch should be compulsorily taught to children of British parents. It is curious to note how suddenly such red herrings become stale whenever an industrial upheaval threatens the master class. Then, and only then, does the ever-present problem of labor versus capitalism force its way into the forefront.

For three years it has been dinned into us that Hertzog was the arch enemy of British freedom in South Africa. He was going to force us all to forget our mother tongue. And all the while thousands of British and Dutch fathers were working for less than a dollar a day when they were

lucky enough to find work. But when Botha, the alleged political opponent of Hertzog, countenanced the dismissal of hundreds of poorly paid railwaymen, the alleged existence of racial hatred did not prevent thousands of Dutchmen on the railways, in the mines, and in the workshops from joining hands with their British fellow slaves in a general strike of protest against the inhumanity of the master class. The strike in this case achieved the miracle of destroying racialism in South Africa.

Other red herrings are in process of preparation and they will be dragged across the trail by the Labor party. One of these is entitled "taxation of land values." It will be worked for all that it is worth, and I fear it will serve the capitalist class better than the British versus Dutch one. There are still a good many Boers who own their farms without mortgage, and they constitute the last line of defense for the capitalist system. Taking advantage of the recent mobilization of the defense force, Generals Botha and Smuts, with the connivance of the leaders of the late Unionist party (formerly champions of the "liberties" of Uitlanders) have allowed the Boers to retain 50,000 modern rifles, which were served out to them for the shooting of Dutch and British strikers. These rifles will be at the service of the Rand magnates and other cosmopolitan financiers when the next industrial upheaval takes place. The Boers are already being warned that the "industrialists" intend to steal their land! And the cream of the joke rests in the fact that their land is already being stolen, bit by bit, by these same financiers, who have formed themselves into land speculating syndicates! If the Dutch bijowners (poor whites who recently owned farms themselves) could only be reached with the revolutionary message, we would make a clean sweep of the whole gang of political humbugs.





FORMOSAN NATIVES.

## How Japan Is Civilizing Formosa

By S. Katayama

**I**T is nearly twenty years since Formosa became a territory of Japan. We took Formosa from China in the China-Japan war, and since then Japan has spent much money developing Formosa and educating the natives into what she thinks they ought to be.

The island of Formosa is rich in natural resources and situated in the sub-tropics. It is especially noted for its splendid forests of camphor. Oo Long, the most delicately flavored tea in the world, has made famous the Formosa tea gardens. Sugar cane is a valuable product and there are infinite areas of valuable timber lands all over the mountains, while oil wells and priceless minerals are richly deposited over the island. Formosa salt is to be had for the mere gathering on the sea shore, and rice crops are harvested twice a year. Already the fertility of Formosa is affecting prices in Japan.

There are now three races in Formosa, the remaining Chinese, Japanese and the natives of the island. All speak different languages and have different ideas and customs.

The aborigines are comparatively small in number now, but they still remain unbroken. Their ferocity toward the invaders knows no bounds in many cases. Few clothes they wear and no shoes, and they clamber up and down the steepest mountain slopes like monkeys, over sheer crags that no one else can scale.

At first the Formosans welcomed the Japanese, who promised to drive out their enemies, the Chinese. While the Japs were expelling the Chinese, the natives gave them every assistance and obeyed the Japanese faithfully. But when the rebels were pacified the Chinese were not driven from the island and Japan began at once to encroach on the territory of the natives. Trees were felled and forests laid low. The ground was cleared and many Japanese gallants hunted the native girls to satisfy their sex depravity.

These aggressions and the debaucheries of the Japs among the native women caused a violent revolt against Japanese authority. It has been said that a native Formosan never fails to miss killing an enemy when he lifts his gun. The Japanese who have

been on the island speak of their marksmanship with something very like awe.

Relentless war was declared on the Japs, who were encroaching more and more every day. A sortie of natives would rush madly down the mountain slopes, fire a volley into a group of toiling Japanese and scamper off over the rocks before anybody could return the onslaught. Often a lithe native would toss his life in his hands by stopping to decapitate an enemy and bear off the trophy to a sweetheart waiting for him in the mountain fastnesses.

The Formosans became so feared and dreaded by the Japanese that the progress of the "great nation" was vastly retarded, and at this time the Japanese government voted a fund of 15,000,000 yen (nearly eight million dollars) for the total extinction of the natives.

And year by year the mighty empire has advanced, ranging the mountains with machine guns and step by step advancing into the mountains with electrified or live wires so that, once laid, the Formosans were unable to pass alive. Gradually the territory remaining has been circumscribed. But from the depths of dark nights a flying group of avengers still occasionally work the old miracle and leap from the mountain forests to exterminate a few barbarous Japanese officials, when they again flee away to their lofty hiding places.

The Formosans are among the most noble, intelligent, kindly and moral natives. They asked only to be left in peace to spend their days in their native land, as their fathers had done. But Japan is so eager to grab the profits that will accrue from the peaceful possession of the entire island that she has, by her cruelty and greed, turned these kindly people into avenging heroes of revolt.

The Formosans are of Chinese descent. They are a very industrious people, and have always been devoted to farming, the preparation of camphor and their own peaceful pursuits. As long as the Chinese or Japanese invaders occupied only the lowlands and the cities, they cared very little who might be nominal ruler of the island. It was systematic exploitation and enslavement against which they revolted.

The fund for the extermination of the native Formosans has been used, and now Japan is talking of another donation for further "work" along these lines.

The colonial government has adopted a policy for the raising of sugar cane. The natives would willingly produce the cane on their own land, by their own labor, for their own reward. But this is not the plan of the government. Japanese capitalists are to take over the land and raise sugar cane for their own profits. It is believed these capitalists can supply the entire Japanese sugar market. The Japanese government has put a high tariff on other sugar, but gives the Japanese companies a big bounty every year. This has enriched the sugar companies and doubled the price of sugar in Japan.

At first, of course, there were a dozen new sugar companies in Formosa. Then the Japanese government allotted certain lands to each company, to which this company was confined for sugar output. Some of the companies bought the lands from the Formosans, but there has been much actual robbery on this score. You see, the Formosan farmers were compelled to sell their cane product to the company allotted their own land at the company's OWN FIGURES. When the natives refused, Japan stepped in once more and sold the land at her own valuation.

Men who tried to escape being party to such an enforced "sale" (or theft) were shot down in their tracks. Remember, too, that the natives were FORCED TO RAISE SUGAR and sugar only.

The lot of the Formosan is indeed a hard one. Oppressed and robbed when they decide to submit to Japanese rule and till the soil, they are hunted like wild beasts and murdered when they rebel and flee to the mountains.

The natives are prohibited from sending their youth to the high schools. They have no political rights whatever. Of the 200 Formosans who have passed civil service examinations, not one has been given any appointment. They are the outcasts and conquered, the people to be set up and exploited.

As the Japanese road builders and forest layers work, they are surrounded by armed Japanese guards. At these "outposts of civilization" the rebellious Formosans retreat only when life is extinct. So many Japanese laborers have been killed that the government has made no official statistics of them. Gradually, however, the news leaked out and the hand of the dread For-



mosan became so feared that men refused all such government employment. Then Japan forced men into this service. Laborers were recruited by force in every village. Few of these ever return to their families.

Last fall a widespread revolt was planned by the Formosans. Arms and ammunition were secretly secured and a flag of emancipation was to be raised on the emperor's birthday, October 31st. But the plot was discovered and many of those accused of complicity were immediately put to death. There was no appeal for any of the accused.

All were doomed to be butchered. But in spite of the rivers of blood flowing through the island, a revolt arose at another point close on the heels of the first one. Perhaps it is written on the hearts of the natives: "We will die, but we will not be slaves."

Little, of course, is positively known of the government's attitude in these revolts, as every paper inimical to the official policy has been suppressed. All attempts to report the truth are crushed in a high-handed manner.

In Korea revolts and plots against the government have followed each other in



SUGAR MILL IN FORMOSA.

rapid succession since the assassination of Prince Ito. Official Japan is accused of widespread bribery and corruption. Some members of our naval department are to be tried soon at the Martial Court of Crimes.

There is revolt, rebellion and restlessness everywhere, caused by the increasing capitalist exploitation. The rebels are easily caught and condemned. Capital is growing stronger every day. But the work of education is going forward also. And it is this education and organization, together with the misery of the working people, that will some day save us from bourgeois dominion.

## NEWS FROM NEW ZEALAND

By the Vag

LOOKING at the map of the world down in the lefthand corner about eight o'clock, if it was the face of a clock, the reader will find two little red marks labeled New Zealand. Looking at that great patch up about three o'clock, marked America, it looks an insignificant little spot that could be very well passed over without a second thought.

But New Zealand is a country that is being heard of everywhere, because it is a remarkable country in more ways than one. It produces some of the finest mutton in the world and sends it away to foreign coun-

tries frozen, where it is sold cheaper than here, and the good, kind New Zealanders keep back all the tough old rams and ewes and eat them themselves, and pay a third more than the foreign consumer does for mutton.

New Zealand produces the finest wool that can be raised and sends it away, and buys it back in shoddy clothes for the New Zealand workers to wear. New Zealand produces three million pounds worth of virgin gold every year and sends it to foreigners, and asks these same foreigners to give the New Zealand workers permission

to raise three million in the form of a paper loan.

One could go on like this for a long time and tell what good, kind people inhabit these two small islands, how they produce splendid fruit and send the best away and keep the worst for their own consumption. How their exports exceed their imports and yet they are compelled to borrow money to keep going. How a lot of thimble riggers are working the gold brick trick on the Dubb family, but the recital would become monotonous. When one takes into consideration that the population of these two islands is roughly about one million, and that 500,000 of these actually voted at the last general elections, and when we remember that 75 per cent of these people who vote for the government are workers whose average wage, according to the government year book, pans out at about two pounds per week, one begins to doubt the sanity of these people, and to wonder what Carlyle would have called them if he had been writing their history.

Still, there is one gleam of hope, because out of these 500,000 people who voted solidly for the things they didn't want, and got them, there are a few who voted for the things they did want, but didn't get, and this noisy minority are out on the street corners telling the majority what fools they are.

Slowly it dawned on the minds of the Dubb family that they can get the things they don't want without voting for them, and they made an attempt to kick the voting machine right out of existence. Some of the workers believed they could get from the master class the things they wanted by putting the boss into parliament. So they formed a political alliance with the enemy and called it the Liberal Labor Alliance. The minority called it the Lib Lab Alliance and used this "£" to write "fib" with. The agreement was that Lab should keep working and £ib should draw the dividends. By promoting a few of the Labs now and again to inspectorships and other soft jobs, the Labs were kept contented for a number of years. The noisy minority kept plugging away and showing the silliness of the co-partnership scheme, and was making fairly good headway when suddenly America flooded the little islands with a mass of literature of the direct action order.

This had a good effect in one way and perhaps as time goes on it will prove a God-

send to the workers. It created a disgust for the parliamentary machine, it created a distrust of everyone who believed in capturing that machinery, and for a time it ran riot and made much headway. Advantage was taken by some good fellows to form a one big union federation, and this organization captured, for a time, everything they went for. Non-political and successful, they were building up a mighty direct-action-at-the-point-of-production army. Little groups here and there became damned cheeky to the boss, wages were increased 40 per cent, and even those of the Dubb tribe benefited considerably because the master class had to bribe them to keep quiet.

Just when the organization was going ahead with leaps and bounds, the master class decided to stop it. Just at a time when internal dissensions began to creep in, the enemy got to work. A little militant group was picked on, the General Labourers, road makers, and that class, and a small pin was gently inserted. Mr. G. L. jumped and said: "Look here, stop it! Don't do that again, or I will write and tell the Federation to stop the wheels of industry." The enemy apologized and said they didn't mean to hurt Mr. G. L., and then went out and bought a six-inch hat pin, came back and jammed it into Mr. G. L. in one jam. Down went Mr. G. L.'s long-handled shovel and the Feds received a mighty hot wire to stop the machinery. The machinery wasn't stopped because the executive saw through the game and saw also that the enemy was trying to put up a fight with local bodies or municipal funds. This wasn't good enough, and so Mr. G. L. was told to get back. He got back, but he swore a mighty big swear against the Federation, said they weren't a fighting organization, and not worth a damn. The enemy smiled and passed on to another small group of militants and went through the same game. And he it observed that it was always the most militant group that was picked on by the Master Class. All this time the deadly work of dissension was going on because those groups that had not got any rise began to think the organization had been organized on bluff. The Waterloo of non-political direct action soon came.

A group of two thousand militants was picked, half of them owning partly paid off houses in a small town which wholly de-



pended on a gold mine for its existence, The pin was inserted, the men responded, and with a mighty yell we were plunged into a one-sided fight with the enemy. The enemy laid back and laughed, told the government that these men were threatening to blow New Zealand into kingdom come, and asked for police. Hundreds of police were sent, but as organized labor was paying wages weekly, the strikers simply went on playing quoits and other such like games. That didn't suit the enemy, so they imported all the roughs and toughs and gaol scum into the district and let them loose under police protection. They cleared the town and the strike ended. But it left a lot of sad hearts and one grave, and the savings of years of toil of most of the workers went with it, and the Federation as a fighting force much depreciated. During this time factional fights were very bitter between the direct actionist and the political actionist, led mostly by men who wanted political honors with six pounds a week and free railway traveling thrown in. The Fed., commonly called the Red Fed., had received a staggering blow, but some genius dropped to the idea of seizing onto the reaction and suggested that the fighting factions should join together and form two mighty arms to the one body. One to hit politically, the other to hit industrially. But the industrialist was to provide the food for this animal. The rank and file of both sections of labor was sick and tired of the faction fighting and took to the scheme, and a mighty congress was the result. It was too bulky and mighty to do much practical work but make a grand demonstration. The enemy winked its eye and said nothing. This scheme went with a swing; men who had fought like Kilkenny cats previously were found now hugging one another and

telling each other what splendid fellows they were.

The enemy sniggered. Then, just when this organization was getting into fighting form, ammunition being stored away and everything looked as if elections would be a mighty big win for labor, the enemy bought some more hat pins. These were used most effectively on the most militant but somewhat ignorant group, and in a few minutes the fat was in the fire and we were plunged once more into a strike. Butchers, bakers, tinkers, tailors caught the fever, and out they came. The country being an agricultural one, had a lot of idle men back on the farms, because the seed was in and they were waiting for the grain to grow, so they were imported into the towns in thousands, armed with three-foot batons and revolvers. They were mounted on horseback, with military officers in charge, all paid for out of the public purse, and what oh! she bumps, things were lively whilst they lasted.

Did a man or woman dare to laugh at these mounted Dubbs, they were fined five pounds, and the strike had to be declared off. It has left the labor movement in New Zealand financially weak. It has left the labor sentiment as strong as hell! But the fear is that the strike having failed, the workers will now turn only to the political machine. This will be a pity, because whilst labor is 75 per cent of the population, and everyone over twenty-one has got a vote (men and women), yet the organized workers are only 100,000 out of 500,000 voters. The other 400,000 voters consist largely of the Dubb type, who will vote the same way their grandfather voted. So on the political field the militants are weak. On the industrial they could do anything if they could be brought to see the need of doing it all *together*, when they were all ready to do it.



## Washington's May Day

By Ellen Wetherell

THE Spirit of the Revolution is astir among the Socialists at the Nation's Capital. Solidarity in effort against the master class and for the working class is the watchword of the comrades. War between the classes, even defensive war of bullets by the workers, is being recognized as part of the inevitable processes of Social Evolution; the while the economic struggle is more and more emphasized by fraternal sympathy with the methods of organized labor evinced by the General Strike. The impending war with Mexico and the horrible stress of the Colorado miners has awakened Washington Comrades to the needs of the hour.

May-Day Festival with Charles Edward Russell in an address brought a crowd of enthusiastic revolutionists to the front, and when the speaker broke into a passionate declaration again War with Mexico and "The Power Behind the Throne," calling on all workers on war ammunition—makers of guns, bullets and powder—to fold their arms and

stop work, a loud responsive acclaim went up from the audience with cries of "Good, Good!"

At the close of the address the stage curtain rolled up, revealing a large chorus of Socialist Sunday School children amidst a sea of red—bunting, flags, and flowers—dressed to represent the various nations of the world. The children sang the Marseilles with strong and clear voices. Following came the reading of resolutions, drawn up by Comrade Roscoe Jenkins, Secretary of Local Washington North East Socialist Party. These resolutions, upon War with Mexico and the Class War in Colorado, were unanimously adopted. A dance and supper was a pleasing feature of the evening; the revolutionary German Branch was a marked factor in the success of the Festival.

Lack of space prevents me from giving the resolution in full. I quote in part. . . Socialist Party, District of Columbia:

Whereas, The administrators of the Government of the United States have involved the



United States in a conflict with President Huerta, the irresponsible dictator of our sister republic, Mexico, and

Whereas, This intervention on the part of the United States has been taken because the irresponsible dictator of Mexico refused to salute the United States flag at the request of a subordinate of our navy, in reparation for the arrest of a few American soldiers by a few of the dictator's war dogs, and

Whereas, At the same time this incident occurred, the war dogs and hirelings of the capitalist of the country, under the guise of keeping the peace and in the name of the same flag that was said to be insulted by the agents of the dictator, Huerta, brutally murdered and shot to pieces miners of Colorado and their innocent wives and children, and

Whereas, The continuance of the hostilities with Mexico will only bring the workers of both countries into bloody conflict and more completely enmesh the workers of Mexico in the clutches of American capitalism, the very thing they are valiantly trying to extricate themselves from in their struggle with Huerta; and

Whereas, The real honor of the flag is involved in preserving a just peace in the world, in minding our own business, and in promoting the welfare of our own people along the lines of self-governing democracy and equalized economic opportunity, therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party of the District of Columbia, in mass meeting assembled this first day of May, 1914, do protest against the action of the government in precipitating the nation in a war over such a flimsy pretext as the so-called insult to our dignity and with a neighboring country already in the throes of rebellion, and be it further

Resolved, That the workers of this whole land be called upon and urged to rise up in holy wrath and indignation and stop the great wheels of industry until peace is restored in both countries and that they, the workers, are insured the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

ROSCOE JENKINS,  
Chairman Committee.

Proving the spirit of the Working-Class strength in these resolutions, I quote a criticism appearing editorially in the Washington Herald—a paper financed by the Association of Manufacturers and controlled by McClure's magazine:

"When 'Bill' Haywood, I. W. W. leader, advocated a nation-wide strike in the event of actual war with Mexico, the nation was shocked but not surprised. Labor Unions all over the country repudiated the seditious sentiment; yet in the Capital of the Nation Socialists met on Friday night and adopted Haywood's sentiments in the form of a resolution calling on the workers of the whole country 'To rise up in holy wrath and indignation and stop the great wheels of industry until peace is restored.'

"As for these resolutions the honest workingmen of the country will repudiate them, just as they repudiated the same sentiment when uttered by 'Bill' Haywood. The most deplorable circumstance, therefore, is the disgrace brought to the United States by the publication of the account of such a meeting under a Washington date line; and one Charles Edward Russell, lecturer and writer and Socialist candidate for Governor of New York, declared 'I will not take a single step towards Mexico to participate in the indefensible murder for all the conscription laws that can be passed; if that be sedition, make the most of it.'

"Fortunately the nation has not to rely on Russell's services and they will not be missed. ITS HIGH SCHOOL BOYS ARE READY TO GO TO THE FRONT."



# STUDY COURSE IN SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

## LESSON VI

Surplus-Value (Continued)

By J. E. Sinclair

**H**IDDEN away in every capitalist industrial process is the secret of surplus-value, the foundation and inspiration of every capitalist venture. It is the ever-widening wedge that separates into two warring camps the whole population of the civilized world—on one side the workers, possessing nothing but the bare necessities of life at best, and on the other side the owning class, possessing all the productive property of the earth. In spite of the complexity of the productive processes, the glaring inequalities of the present economic status, the fatal contradictions that it reveals, its recurrent hard times in the face of all its technical advance, and its vast armies of unemployed and often starving men, are all serving to bring the workers to see that they are robbed—to see that they do not get the value of what they produce.

In return for the labor power of the worker, the capitalist gives the bare necessities that will enable the worker to reproduce his labor-power. This is simply the commodity value of labor-power, as we saw in the last lesson. It may be, and usually is, that during the first two or three hours the worker, using improved machinery and organized systematically by skilled bosses, produces more value than he receives as wages for the entire day. During the balance of the day his product goes to form that incalculable mass of wealth which the masters annually extort from the workers and for which they give nothing in return. "It is this sort of exchange," says Marx, "between capital and labor upon which capitalist production, or the wages system, is founded and which must constantly result in reproducing the working

man as a working man and the capitalist as a capitalist."

It is at the bargain counter of human lives on the labor market of the world that the capitalist class arranges for its initial and only act of robbery. Is there, in the presence of the armies of the starving unemployed, that labor-power is bought at its merciless bargain price. It is there that the deal is made whereby the extraction of surplus-value becomes as inevitable as the rising of the sun. It is there that the one commodity upon which capital realizes a profit is bought at the lowest price that will enable the laborer to reproduce that commodity. This commodity out of which grows all profits is LABOR-POWER.

Although surplus-value is created at the point of production, it is not realized until the various commodities produced by the workers are thrown upon the market and exchanged. The million pairs of shoes produced annually by a western shoe factory are of no use to the "Company." These dignitaries do not wear such coarse shoes. For them they can have no use-value whatever. But these shoes are made to have a use-value for loggers and farmers. So they are sold to these at their approximate value. But the logger did not bring in a stick of timber to exchange for his shoes. Nor did the farmer bring into the shoe store a sack of potatoes. There was a time in the history of exchange when this kind of barter was quite the go. At the great tribal dances of the Eskimos we might see such methods of barter in which two white fox skins might exchange for one wolverine skin; but capitalist society with its world market could not wait for such proceedings. The shoes that the farmer and logger got



are paid for with money. Surplus-value expresses itself in cold cash.

When the shoe company parted with its million pairs of shoes it received in return money. As good business men, these manufacturers saw to it that this money had value equivalent to at least the value of the shoes. The problem that now confronts us is, how did this money get its value? It is needless for us to go into the details of the origin and evolution of money here. The student, however, should, by all means, master this matter in the first volume of "Capital," and if possible, in the "Critique of Political Economy," by Marx. This is the one point on which many Socialists who come to us from the Populist fold are decidedly hazy.

The utopian dreamed that money could be made out of paper by the mere fiat of some capitalist government. This boundless faith in capitalist government or in any government is entirely unwarranted, for the law of value governs exchange, whether we exchange money for shoes or fox skins for wolverine skins. Laws, decrees and proclamations cut a very sorry figure when they run counter to economic forces that are bigger than government itself.

The value of money is determined just as the value of cloth, lumber, shoes, or labor-power is determined—by the amount of socially necessary labor-power required to reproduce it on the world market. Money is a universally acceptable equivalent. After much experimentation with other commodities, capitalist society has been driven by the laws inherent in its very nature to adopt gold as the basis of its monetary system. As with all other commodities, the value of gold fluctuates with the changing quantity of labor-power needed in its production. When gold was scarce and much labor was needed in prospecting and in mining it, its value was much higher than now, when science has made gold mining a veritable factory process and has tremendously increased the annual output. This cheapening of gold means higher prices.

Price is the monetary expression of value. This does not mean that value and price are necessarily the same; but Marx by a careful study of prices through long periods proved that prices approximate values very closely on an average. Supply and demand may temporarily affect prices, but the value of a commodity is always determined by the amount of socially necessary

labor-power crystallized in it. Improved methods, increased production, or anything that reduces the socially necessary labor-time used up in a commodity decreases its value. But the manufacturer may for a time be able to hold up the price owing to the fact that the new process may not yet have become general. This is why the capitalist who happens to be unable to put in the latest and the best machine is inevitably crushed by his stronger competitor, who thus grows ever more powerful.

Wages is the price paid for labor-power. The difference between wages and the value of the commodity produced by the laborer is surplus-value. In the United States about four-fifths of the value created is surplus-value and one-fifth is wages. But it would be misleading to assume that the individual capitalist who employs you gets such an enormous profit. With a part of this surplus-value your capitalist employer must pay interest possibly. Then there is insurance. Very likely there is rent to pay. Then, too, he must pay some taxes so that "law and order" may be maintained and the flow of surplus-value may not be stopped even momentarily by some dissatisfied workers striking at the wrong time. In fact, the spoils wrung from labor are shared by innumerable exploiters and petty grafters at every turn, who quarrel among themselves about the division of the loot. But these family squabbles among the exploiters are no concern of ours. The worker, robbed at the point of production, robbed when he sells his labor-power at its value and contracts to give to the boss the value of his product, has no business worrying about problems of taxation or insurance rates or high rents or any of the other thousand and one capitalistic side shows whose spielers hope to keep the workers from comprehending the class struggle that is going on all the time in the main tent.

You workers are robbed through the operation of the law of surplus-value. For your days of heavy toil you get a bare subsistence. Lower the rents, lower the cost of living and down comes your wages. In all lands, in all climes this is the way the economic forces of capitalist society have you in their grip. You have no struggle but one struggle, and that is for the full product of your labor. You have no fight but one fight, the fight for the possession of the means of production and exchange that

will enable your class that produces all the wealth to keep it for its own use. You have no class to fight but the class that stands between you and the ownership of the earth and the machinery of production; but with this class you have a life and death conflict in which you can waste no time with trifling side issues.

There was a time when each nation, geographically separated from other nations, had a separate standard of living of its own. In that day American workers could disdainfully speak of "cheap foreign labor." But the development of mechanical science moved on apace. Steel rails were jabbed through international boundary lines. The world was wrapped in telegraph wires and ocean cables. Steel ships and steel bayonets opened the way for the internationalism of capital in distant ports. The empire of business rose above the petty world of little lands and little national minds rotting with a petty patriotism that still survives among the ignorant. With the gradual perfection of international commerce, which we now witness in its culmination, national standards of living, national ideas, national and race prejudices cannot survive. Labor-power is now sold on the world market under world-wide conditions of competition. The capitalist buys labor-power where he can buy it the cheapest. If the cheapest labor will not come to his factory, he takes his factory to the cheapest worker. He moves from Massachusetts to Alabama, from Alabama to China. From each point of vantage he throws his product on the world market and puts his less fortunate competitor out of business on the other side of the globe. In this way wages are forced down to a world-level, and with them the old national standards of living sink to world conditions and all labor that can get a job is "cheap labor."

This process of the internationalization of standards of living was only in its infancy when Marx and Engels wrote. It is now an approaching reality here in America, where, owing to the great free land area that until recently existed, labor had some advantage in the past. But with the force of economic law back of him, the capitalist becomes the greatest of levelers. He will go where he can get the greatest amount of labor for the least possible outlay, and that will be where labor can live on the least possible wages and can put up

with the lowest of living standards. Before the advance of international capitalism, political boundary lines and the laws passed to shut out foreigners and foreign products are as chaff before a gale.

The lower the standard of living in the remotest parts of the earth, the lower capitalists can force wages everywhere. Every extra hour added to the labor time in one country means that sooner or later it will be added in another, else the factories will close. Then by a process of starvation and half living the workers in the favored land are reduced to the world level. Such is the inexorable operation of the laws of capitalist production.

No national laws passed by reformers can prevent this brutal lowering of the life standards, this heartless increase in the rate of surplus-value. Thanks to the technical progress of man, the human mind must now rise to a broader conception of life problems. Industrial evolution has at last reared above the world horizon the international capitalist, and facing him in a wide world conflict there stands the international proletariat, both creatures of a system of production that has developed between them an antagonism that reaches down to the roots of life.

In our next study we shall deal with this conflict between the workers of the world and the international buccaneers who live as parasites upon the sweat and blood of labor.

#### **Suggestions for Study.**

Read carefully the first thirteen sections of *Value, Price, and Profit*. You have already read this maybe; but without a full understanding of the economic laws therein briefly elaborated, you are badly handicapped in any discussion of surplus-value. Also read all of Part I (pages 41 to 162) in the first volume of *Capital*. Keep at hand, as you study Marx, Mary E. Marcy's *Shop Talks on Economics*. I know of nothing better than this little ten-cent book as a help in the study of Marx. Another little book peculiarly helpful has just been issued by the publishers of this magazine. It is the work of the comrades of Local Puyallup (Washington) and is entitled "Scientific Socialism Study Course."

#### **Topics for Short Speeches, Discussions, or Essays.**

1. What is value?
2. Use-value and exchange value.
3. The determining factor in fixing prices.
4. The fluctuation of prices.
5. Where the worker is robbed and why.
6. Surplus-value.
7. The evolution of money.
8. The standard of living and wages.
9. The immigrant and the native worker.
10. The in-



ternationalization of capital. 11. The internationalization of labor. 12. The patriot.

#### Questions for Review.

Write answers to these before coming to the study club. 1. Show how shortening of the working day will affect the rate of surplus-value. 2. How might the capitalists shorten the working day and yet keep up the old rate of exploitation? 3. Why can we say that labor-power is a commodity? 4. In what way does it differ from all other commodities? 5. In what way is the value of labor-power determined? 6. As civilization advances does the worker get a relatively greater or a lesser proportion of his product under capitalism? Why is this? 7. How do you account for the fact that some workers get more pay than others? 8. How would a general increase in wages affect prices? 9. How would shortening of the hours of labor affect prices? 10. If all the workers saved their money and bought only the very most needed of physical necessities, would it help them any? If so, why?

If not so, why? 11. How does the increased productiveness of labor affect use-values? How does it affect exchange values? 12. Can Rockefeller fix the price of coal oil arbitrarily? 13. Would it be possible to fix the price of wages by law? 14. Can legislatures or commissions fix the freight or passenger rates on railroads below the value of the services rendered by the railroads and make it stick? 15. How do capitalists get their profit if they pay the laborer the full value of his labor power? 16. In what way does the standard of living affect wages? 17. What forces are making for a universal standard of living and how is this affecting the American worker? 18. What prevents the Waltham Watch Company, for instance, from moving their plant to China? 19. How does an injury to the workers of India affect you? 20. What is money? 21. How has the cheapening of gold affected prices? 22. Are the interests of the workers affected permanently by a raise in rents or an increase in taxes?

## EDITORIAL

**A Rich Man's War.**—This term was applied fifty years ago by a few clear-headed observers to the civil war in America. It applies even more unmistakably to the possible war between the United States and Mexico. Suppose the hopes of the most optimistic imperialists should be realized: suppose the armies of the United States were to over-run the whole of Mexico within a few weeks, were to crush out all opposition, take possession of the country, and annex Mexico to the United States. Then all the Mexicans would be American citizens, with the "Right to Work" wherever in the United States they might choose. They are said to be "good" workers, and all accounts agree that they are happy when they get 40 cents a day in U. S. money; they usually get less. With all the misgovernment and robbery under which they suffer, they have still been increasing in numbers, even though their industrial technique is of the eighteenth century rather than the twentieth. Suppose that American capitalism with its modern machinery were suddenly to take possession of Mexico, so that a fifth of the peons could produce more wealth each year than all of them are produc-

ing now. What effect would the competition of the other four-fifths have on YOUR job? But the Mexicans don't want your job. What they want is the land they are laboring on. If President Wilson were to withdraw his troops and let the soldiers under Villa have the cartridges they need, the Mexicans might settle their problems in a way that would be very much to the interest of the working people on both sides of the border. What will happen on a larger scale if American soldiers extend their lines in Mexico is well foreshadowed by the letter from a young marine which we print on another page. The Mexicans; men, women and children, will be massacred wherever they resist invasion, which will be pretty nearly everywhere that "our" soldiers go, and the young men who compose the U. S. army will be efficiently trained into calloused butchers fit to do the dirty work of capitalism at home as well as abroad. It is a healthy sign that there is no such wave of enthusiasm for war now as in the days of "Remember the Maine." It is not yet too late to protest against war with some hope of success. Let us Socialists make our protest heard.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**Socialist Progress in England.**—Good news continues to come from England. While the capitalist parties are racking the famous constitution out of shape the Socialists are getting together. The reports of the annual conferences of the British Socialist Party and the Independent Labor Party are almost too good to be true. For a generation England has had some of the strongest personalities and clearest heads in the Socialist movement, but that strange sectarian spirit which is so prevalent in English religion has seemed to dominate even here. To carry on a revolutionary movement one must be able to see two things at once; and this our English friends have seemed unable to do. So they divided the task: the I. L. P. looked at one and the B. S. P. at the other. And because they didn't both see the same thing each one called the other blind.

The two things to be seen are the ultimate end of activity and the immediate means of getting masses of people to work toward that end. The comrades of the B. S. P. have kept the Socialist commonwealth clearly in view. They have written and spoken energetically against the befuddled reformism of the Labor Party. To the present writer there is something truly sublime about the faithfulness with which they have labored without visible reward. They have made thousands of Socialists but their converts have joined other groups. Yet they have kept on steadily about their business.

The I. L. P., seconded by the Fabians, has worked within the Labor Party. The Labor Party is largely made up of conservative labor unions. Many of its representatives in Parliament have been Conservatives or Liberals by conviction. Among these, about forty in number, the seven representatives of the I. L. P. have had to carry on their parliamentary work. The seven have been bound by the convictions and alliances of the group as a whole. Needless to say, it is seldom that they have spoken or acted clearly for Socialism or the working-class. They have

been so busy maintaining their connections with the masses of conservative workers that they have said little or nothing about their Socialist aim.

Readers of *THE REVIEW* have already learned of the move made in December by the International Bureau. The Bureau proposed that the three chief Socialist groups in England combine on the basis (1) that all join the Labor Party, and (2) that they attempt to bring about such a change in the Labor Party policy that candidates be permitted to run as "Labor and Socialist" candidates. This proposal was debated at the party conferences held during Easter week. For the first time each conference received a fraternal delegate from the other. The speeches of these delegates were warmly received in both cases.

Before the unity matter came up at the I. L. P. conference a very refreshing thing happened. For years past the delegates from Bradford have regularly introduced a resolution in favor of calling on the I. L. P. men in Parliament to vote independently according to party principles. In England this is a much more radical proposal than it would be in most countries. The English cabinet system is so delicate an affair and the results of a cabinet overturn are so serious, that the cabinet habitually plays the tyrant. It hardly ever occurs to an M. P. to vote according to his own mind. The Bradford resolution submitted this year attacked the main point. It demanded that "the Parliamentary Labor Party be asked to vote on all issues in accordance with the principles for which the Party stands" in order that the nefarious cabinet system be broken down as soon as possible. And this resolution was carried by a vote of 233 to 78.

In the discussion on the unity resolution there was some of the detestable sort of prejudice against clean-cut Socialism which we have often seen in this country. But it was represented by an unpopular minority. One man said that it would be impossible to do any practical work



with a lot of "theorists" like those gathered under the B. S. P. banner. But he soon found that times have changed in England. He was told that many of these "theorists" are doing manful work in the labor movement and that they are already serving in the Labor Party as members of the labor unions. The resolution was carried by a vote of 225 to 113. On only one point was there successful opposition. It was said that if Socialists could describe themselves as "Labor and Socialist" candidates, others might run as "Labor and Conservative" candidates. This was denied, but this matter of party denomination was referred back to the Executive Committee.

Of course it is the B. S. P. which must take the definitive action with regard to this matter. It is the only group which has anything to lose by the proposed action. There is to be a referendum vote on the matter, so nothing is decided as yet. But the discussion at the conference gives reason to suppose that the unity proposal will be carried by the vote of the membership. The following account of the speech by Hyndman, taken from Justice, sums up most of the arguments delivered pro and con: "He had a great deal of sympathy with those who are opposed to joining the Labor Party, and they must recognize that there must be some very strong reasons indeed for him to change his opinion. He did not like schemes of 'expediency,' but neither did he like schemes of 'inexpediency.' Looking back on the past thirteen or fourteen years, he regretted that they had come out of the Labor Party. Had they remained in it Socialism would have had a stronger hold among the workers. How could they get at their minds if they did not reach their bodies? Though we don't like joining the Labor Party, nevertheless, if we go in we shall go in with the red flag flying. Further, no speech that could be delivered here could have anything like the effect that could be produced at the Labor Party Conference. Look at the 193,000 votes given last Tuesday at the conference on South Africa. We should have obtained more had we been inside the Labor Party. What we had now to do was to take back to the branches the arguments presented on both sides with the full belief that all

of us were striving for the progress of Socialism."

#### **The Church and the Trade Unions.—**

The organs of the Roman Catholic church are paying more and more attention to the union movement. Threats made at the last A. F. of L. convention were evidently part of a studied plan. In utterances of priests in print and in the pulpit it is plainly to be seen that there is something afoot. And this something is nothing more nor less than an attempt to dominate the unions. There is some pretense of interest in the workers' welfare. Now and then comes a luke warm reference, to hours or wages. But the real enthusiasm of the movement appears when the ecclesiastical agitators fight Socialism. The whole thing, as seen in this country, is so plain that only the most thick-headed workingman would be deceived by it. But anyone who is in doubt has now an opportunity to inform himself accurately of the way in which the church takes up the union movement.

Last year Dr. A. Erdman, a member of the German Reichstag, published a short history of the ecclesiastical efforts to throttle the German unions. It is called *The Church and Trade Unions in Germany*. This has now been translated into English and can be procured by writing to the Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands, Berlin, So. 16, Engelufur 15. It will be useful to have this pamphlet circulated as widely as possible in the United States at the present time. Members of unions are urged to send for as many copies as they can distribute.

Dr. Erdman is authority for the statement that the average German priest spends one-fourth of his time doing religious work and the other three-fourths trying to get hold of the workers and fight Socialism. The church's effort to influence the workers for its own benefit is not by any means limited to the "Christian" unions. Every time the working people have made a step forward the church has been ready with a new organization to throw them off the track. Of course, in Germany the church is openly and strenuously in politics. The Center Party, a rock-ribbed Conservative organization, has been from the beginning of Germany's modern political life di-

rectly a tool of Rome. Very early the leaders of this party brought about the organization of a "People's Union for Catholic Germany." This organization, which has at present some 750,000 members, publishes books and pamphlets, gives lecture courses, starts societies, and in every way imaginable tries to get hold of the working people in order to "save" them from Socialism. The "Christian" unions were founded by this "People's union."

But it was before this event that the real history of the church's "social" work began. At the time of the Revolution of 1848 the workers were getting interested in politics. Then was founded the Catholic Journeymen's Association. This organization includes the members of skilled trades. Its president is appointed by the Archbishop of Cologne and all the officers of the local groups are priests. It preaches humility in relation to the employers and pretends to ignore politics. Everybody knows, however, that it is constantly used to further the interests of the Center Party. At present it has 80,000 members.

Much the largest Catholic organization of this sort was formed in the early sixties at the time when Lassalle was rousing the workers and gathering them into his General Workingmen's Union. It is called the Catholic Workingmen's Society, and was started by the famous Bishop Ketteler. Bishop Ketteler was a real person with genuine knowledge of the proletariat and sympathy with it. His organization was, at first, very radical. In more than one instance his followers got into bitter quarrels with the leaders of the Center Party. But the Centrists had the support of Rome and the Society had to yield to them. Since the eighties its members have been kept strictly within the bounds set by the bishops. All the local leaders are priests. Any member who subscribes to a Socialist paper or in any way shows leanings toward the real trade union movement is instantly expelled. At present this organization numbers 480,000.

Bismarck's Anti-Socialist law was repealed in 1890, and its repeal was immediately followed by a great forward leap of the Socialist and labor movements. The church leaders were not caught napping.

Immediately they started their own unions of various sorts. Some were frankly Catholic, some pretended to be non-sectarian, some were Catholic and Protestant. In short, there were all sorts of little ecclesiastical "unions" fighting for life and all seeking to stem the upward tide of the workingclass movement. By 1900 a regular system of organization and body of principles were agreed upon and the "Christian" trade unions were fairly got under way. They were finally based on the interdenominational plan. It was thought that this would hide the manifest purpose of the Catholic leaders and so hoodwink the public. But from the beginning there have been Catholic leaders who saw grave danger in the association with Protestants. The division on this question has brought about the so-called "Berlin Faction" and the "Cologne Faction."

This question of association with Protestants was taken up by the German bishops and the interdenominational unions were condemned in a letter to the clerics. Finally the whole matter was taken to the pope. Pius X, as is well known to REVIEW readers, finally issued an encyclical in which he favored purely Catholic organizations, but permitted mixed unions where it seemed advisable to have them. The members of Christian unions were, however, told always to submit to the advice of the priests and to conduct all their affairs according to the rules of the church. "Whatever the Christian does," says this document, "even in the disposition of earthly matters, the heavenly treasures must not be lost sight of." "Those who individually or collectively profess to be Christians," it continues, "must not stir up strife or animosity among the different classes of society."

The result of this encyclical was soon evident. In former times the "Christian" unions had sometimes struck with the regular organizations and stood out manfully for their rights. In 1912, during the great mine strike in the Ruhr district, they brought the struggle disgracefully to an end by serving as strike-breakers and doing everything in their power to give the government an excuse for introducing the troops. Since then they have



been everywhere regarded as nothing but "yellows." At present they have about 350,000 members as compared with the two and a quarter millions in the regular unions. Dr. Erdman well says, where the Christian unions gain 10,000 the regular unions gain 100,000.

What gives all these matters importance for us at the present moment is the evident intention of certain Catholic groups in relation to our own labor movement. It is noticeable that the leaders of the activity in this direction are almost always German priests. Herr Gies-

berts, the great man of the Centrists, was recently in this country trying to work up enthusiasm for their work. To be sure it is doubtful whether it would be at all possible for the church to do in this country anything like what it has done in Germany. But a very small body of consistent "yellows" is a very dangerous thing to the labor movement. Workers everywhere should be on their guard against outside domination. There is nothing more calculated to make them watchful than an understanding of what has happened in Germany.

## All Aboard the Pennsylvania!

SEVERAL of the REVIEW hustlers who are sending in subscriptions for the free trip to the International Socialist Congress at Vienna, August 23, have taken big strides forward during the past month.

And Comrades Davidson, of Kansas City, Stevens of Jamestown, Welling of North Bend, Oregon, Dickson, of Winnsboro, Texas, Cleveland, of Baudette, Minn., and Pierce of Washington, D. C., have sent us word that they are entering the 300 sub-dash to win the race.

All our winners are going via the Hamburg-American line, one of the oldest and most reliable transportation companies. One or two may prefer to go via the greatest ship on earth—the IMPERATOR. Those who have to rush back to work and have only a few days to spend in Vienna, can take this palatial steamer, provided they will pay their own hotel bills while in Europe. They will have second cabin accommodations on this greatest of all ship-building achievements.

The Emperor is of 55,000 ton loading capacity and over 910 feet in length. Passengers walking from prow to stern cover nearly a quarter of a mile each time. 800 tons of coal are used on the Emperor daily and she carries over 4,000 passengers and a crew numbering 1,300 men. The

Hamburg-American people have done all that modern science and money could procure to make the Emperor the Star of the Seas and to give their passengers the greatest comfort, and safety in crossing the Atlantic. The Emperor makes the trip from New York to Hamburg in seven days.

Comrade Leslie H. Marcy, Associate Editor of the REVIEW, will represent the REVIEW at the International Congress. He will be one of the REVIEW party. Comrade Carpenter, of Boston, has 75 per cent of the required 300 yearly subscriptions. Dr. Gibbs has won his trip and Comrades Dr. Wilson of Rodi, Penn., and Burns of Wilkes Barre, will doubtless be among the winners. Other comrades write that from now on they will do double work in getting the required number.

Nearly all the winners and prospective winners have signified their preference of one of the big, slow liners that carry only second, third and steerage passengers and will sail from the company's new pier, at the foot of 33rd street, South Brooklyn, N. Y., August 6th. Most of them will return during the early part of September, but stopover arrangements may be secured if we are notified in time to so state to the Hamburg-American people.

Several friends have written that they

want to become one of the REVIEW party though they cannot secure the 300 yearly subscriptions. We have advised the comrades that we will give them the same terms we are able to secure from the steamship line. But we cannot reserve any cabins for anyone who wants to pay his passage and join our party unless they pay the required deposit the Hamburg people demand.

Naturally those making arrangements first will secure the best berths and best cabins, so that we would advise you to write at once if you contemplate joining our delegation. In case you should pay

the small deposit required, and find that you would be unable to make the voyage, you would, of course, forfeit the deposit.

As the Pennsylvania arrives at Hamburg, Germany, on August 19th, the REVIEW delegation will have four days to spend passing through The Fatherland and can stop off and spend some time in Berlin. Or, if they prefer, they can stop off at one of the ports in France and pass through Paris on their way to Vienna. One or two of our friends plan a short jump down into Italy and to the Alps either before or after the Congress. The REVIEW offer is the opportunity of a lifetime.

### TO FRANK TANNENBAUM IN PRISON.

By Upton Sinclair.

Poor boy, that came too newly to our shores,  
And cannot understand our native ways,  
Our dignity and precedent and peace—  
Poor foreign boy, with conscience for our sins!  
That could not go his humble, tread-mill round,  
While men were starving, dying in our streets,  
And winter lashed them with its icy whips,  
And fashion motored over them in pomp!

Poor boy, they seized thee—bullied, harried thee—  
And learned judges read the law to thee,  
And righteous papers sounded loud acclaim.  
The prison-walls clang on thee—oh, just God!  
Think of this place, where human bodies rot,  
And human voices weep the nights away;  
A place unfit for beasts—so certified  
By law itself! And have we razed its walls,  
Its foul abominations swept away?  
Nay, there it stands—our state is poor, we hear,  
Our legislative thieves have taken all.  
So let men rot within the slimy walls,  
And learned judges read the law to them,  
And righteous papers sound their loud acclaim!

Oh boy, brave boy, what can I do for thee?  
Pay thee the tribute of a futile tear?  
Write words of hope that cannot pierce to thee,  
But break upon the slimy dungeon walls?  
A thousand causes clamor for my pen,  
A thousand horrors haunt me when I sleep;  
Men's minds imprisoned, I cannot break their chains!  
A world enslaved, I cannot set it free!  
So I excuse myself, and do my task,  
And let thee rot, poor sad-eyed, foreign boy—  
One hero-soul in this our coward State!



# NEWS AND VIEWS



GROUP OF AUSTRALIAN REDS—BRISBANE.

Rear Row—Percy Mandeno, Robert Rose, Bobe Bessant. Front—James Quinton, Gordon Brown, Albert Jenkins, Alf. Rees.

**Free Speech in Australia**—The Brisbane branch of the Australasian Socialist Party have been fighting more than eight months for the right to hold public meetings on a Sunday, a right which is extended to religious organizations but denied to secular bodies. Last June our party held a meeting on a Sunday afternoon. We were allowed to proceed for half an hour; meanwhile the police were making inquiries as to the proper attitude to adopt towards us. Having ascertained that we were breaking the Sabbath and the LAW, five of us were arrested, kept in the watch-house all night and next morning arraigned before a magistrate, who, after lecturing us on the possibilities which life offered if only we were good, sentenced us to twelve hours' imprisonment. At our next branch meeting it was decided to exhaust every possible means to gain our end "constitutionally" before again defying "Loranorder."

These "constitutional" efforts being of no

avail, it was decided that we speak every Sunday, Cahill's disapproval notwithstanding.

We picked out the busiest part of the city, a place where the Salvation Army are allowed to speak without let or hindrance. The first comrade (A. J. Brown) had not spoken more than five minutes before an excited "John Hop" demanded his permit, and, not receiving one, arrested him.

The next morning the magistrate informed our comrade that "if only he would express contrition he would be leniently dealt with." Brown pointed out that he had done no wrong and would certainly speak again when released. Such defiance, coming from a member of the working class, was too much for the magistrate, who, more out of spleen than aught else, imposed a sentence of one month's imprisonment.

The following week Com. Mandeno performed a peripatetic stunt, which for a space nonplussed the police. He walked up and

down the street talking all the time. For fifteen minutes he got home with some good propaganda work. At last he was arrested. Two weeks were his portion. Similar tactics were pursued the following Sunday and for his share in the good work Com. Jenkins was allowed four weeks free board and lodging.

Our next fighter, George Thompson, taking a leaf from the suffragette's book, chained himself to a veranda post and whilst the police were hammering away to release him Thompson addressed a huge crowd that gathered, drawn thither by the unusual sight of policemen working. Thompson was sentenced to a month. On his arrival at Boggs road jail he refused to eat and for nine days no food was consumed by him. A Dr. Macdonald was called in and declared our comrade to be insane. Thompson, although a sane man, now lies in Goodna Asylum, and if the authorities have their way he will never again be free.

The struggle went on. Every Sunday, in some part of the city, one of us would hold a meeting. On one occasion a comrade chained himself to the bough of a tree and from his arboreal rostrum addressed a huge crowd of people (and policemen). Several spoke from the awnings which cover our (?) sidewalks. For this offense we were not arrested straight-away, but were proceeded against by summons. This allowed us to speak for several hours and good use was made of the time. Once or twice we have spoken without injury to ourselves. This has been accomplished by the speakers quietly disappearing for a while. The authorities do not trouble to bring them back.

A few weeks ago Coms. Bessant and O'Brien hired a couple of horses, dressed themselves like Russian Cossacks and paraded down the main street of Brisbane. On each side of the horses was a placard bearing a couplet. One piece ran:

"Sorry to say can't speak to today;  
Cahill won't let me."

The police formed a cordon at the top of the street and succeeded in capturing one horseman. The other, wheeling rapidly to the left and passing round a block, again confronted the defenders of "Loranorder." Riding straight towards the "Johns" Com. O'Brien once more eluded his would-be capturers, who are still looking for him.

Our persistent efforts in speaking despite the jailings have won the admiration of many who were at first bitterly opposed to us. The craft unions for many months hung back, but they are with us today and have organized a "Free Speech" demonstration, which is to take place next Saturday. Nine months ago we were an unknown, struggling quantity. Today, throughout the length and breadth of Queensland, people are inquiring what Socialism and Industrial Unionism mean. For this splendid ad we must thank the thick-skulled authorities who, by their autocratic and stone-age actions, have been the means of advancing our cause and spreading the light to an extent only otherwise obtained by several years of constant effort.

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Those of us who have suffered the pain of close confinement in King George's palatial boarding house make light of it. We are recompensed by the knowledge that "out of evil cometh good." Then, again, have we not enjoyed moments of sweet revenge, especially when fooling the old fogies who dispense capitalistic justice from the bench? It would take too long to tell of the many methods resorted to in order to delay business of the court, of the thousand and one questions we asked of witnesses brought to court who knew not the language and needed an interpreter, etc. All this was done until one magistrate swore he would try no more "Free Speech" cases. In conclusion, the comrades here in Brisbane desire to send fraternal greetings to the fighters in the common cause over the water and to inform them that even in this land of eternal sunshine, despite its boast of being in the van of the freedom loving and freedom practicing countries of the world, the same struggle is on—the struggle between Plute and Pleb—for industrial control and ownership of the wealth-producing forces of the country. With best wishes for the continued success of the REVIEW.

GORDON BROWN,

Organizer, Brisbane Branch, A. S. P.

**The Deported South African Nine.**—Arrested without a warrant, jailed without a trial, taken out of our cells in the dead of night, escorted by a regiment of armed men to a quiet station on the main line, placed in compartments of a special train there waiting for us, doors locked and armed guards within and without; kidnapped in this fashion and transported to the port of Durbar, our arrival timed at midnight; forced at the point of the bayonet to board the steamtub "Umgeni," locked into cabins with harbor police armed as guards, hawsters were unloosed and engines started with frantic haste as we sped "full steam ahead" till the three-mile sea limit was passed. We were faced with guns till our guards retreated over the side of the Umgeni and boarded their own tug. Left in the company of the detectives, we headed direct for England. Treated in this fashion, and with a month at sea for reflection, we wondered what our fellow workers in England would think about it.

The nine of us were of settled mind. We would fight if no one else did. We would stir up the sense of equity and justice and draw the attention of the people of England to the tyrannical acts of the South African government. We relied upon ourselves. If help came from elsewhere, so much the better.

Indescribable scenes were witnessed on our arrival in London. Camera and press men by the hundreds faced us at every turn. Papers and posters contained nothing but the latest about the Nine.

The Parliamentary Labor Party organized a welcome and reception inside the House of Commons, much to the disgust of the Tory party. A huge demonstration was held at the London Opera House, and, most impressive of all, a demonstration, unprecedented in numbers and enthusiasm, marched to Hyde Park

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## AGENTS



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## TOBACCO HABIT

A very interesting book has been published on tobacco habit—how to conquer it quickly and easily. It tells the dangers of excessive smoking, chewing, snuff using, etc., and explains how nervousness, irritability, sleeplessness, weak eyes, stomach troubles and numerous other disorders may be eliminated through stopping self-poisoning by tobacco. The man who has written this book wants to genuinely help all who have become addicted to tobacco habit and says there's no need to suffer that awful craving or restlessness which comes when one tries to quit voluntarily. This is no mind-cure or temperance sermon tract, but plain common sense, clearly set forth. The author will send it free, postpaid, in plain wrapper. Write, giving name and full address—a postcard will do. Address Edward J. Woods, 242 C, Station E, New York City. Keep this advertisement, it is likely to prove the best news you ever read in this magazine.

**SOCIALIST Cartoon Post Cards.** Send me 10c. and I will send you a set of 10, no two alike. They are thought getters. Just the thing to send to the unconverted. Also Lincoln post cards, a set of 5 for 10c. Each card has a different quotation from one of his famous speeches. **HOWARD FRASER, 326 North Chas. Street Carlinville, Ill.**

on the first Sunday after our arrival to greet us.

Even after this remarkable display the British government was apathetic, but a message reached them from South Africa itself which they could not affect to ignore. The Transvaal Provincial Council (State) elections took place and the Labor Party, which had formerly only two representatives won 23 out of 25 seats contested, thus giving it the majority in a legislative body numbering 45 representatives.

The British House of Commons has now passed a resolution amounting to a vote of censure upon Botha and Smuts. The latter are in a dilemma. They are damned if they do, and likewise if they don't. They are passing laws to banish the Nine in perpetuity, and then issuing statements that we may return if we will promise to be good. They have withdrawn certain repressive measures under compulsion and are endeavoring to obtain the same repressive power through amendments to existing acts. We are going back shortly, and unconditionally, and they know we are. We have the South African capitalist class on the run. The doom of the Rand Mining Magistrate is sealed as far as politics go.

All this political advance is purely the outcome of INDUSTRIAL ACTION. Before the strike the S. A. Labor Party was losing seats. Now nothing on earth can stop them. The strike has done more to educate the workers and make them class-conscious than ten years of ordinary propaganda.

It is to the credit of our industrial organization that it threatened the supremacy of the Capitalist State as no Capitalist State has ever before been threatened, and in martial law so fully and widely applied, the last card of Capitalism has been played, and we can now calmly organize and plan to beat them. I honestly believe, as I asserted to my American friends during my visit of three years ago, that the Industrial revolution will be first fought and won in South Africa. We have already had a victory for the "one big union."—By Archie Crawford.

### One Union in the Clothing Industry

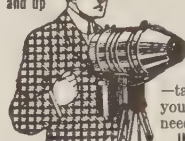
Between the working class and employing class a struggle is on which will only end when the working class come together industrially and control that which they produce by their labor.

Notwithstanding the fact that attempts are being made to mislead the working class into the belief that the interest of employes and employers are identical, the struggle for existence and supremacy clearly indicate that the working class and employing class have nothing in common.

The rapid gathering of wealth, the centering of the management of industries into fewer hands, the development of industries and the changing forms of production make the trade unions as now organized inadequate to meet the situation.

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We in the tailoring industry know that under the present form of organization that one craft is pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in strikes or lockouts.

This is a sad state of affairs and the Tailors Industrial Union has come out flat-footed and declared for a change.

They have decided that the interest of the workers in the clothing industry can best be upheld by having only one organization in the industry, where all the workers can, if need be, come to the assistance of any other branch that may be involved in trouble, where the workers will have only one allegiance and not three or four, as is now the case.

We realize it is hard to break away from the past, but the past is dead. We are living in the Today, which has brought with it the product, ideas, invention and everything else of the present, and if we are going to enjoy them we must use them now.

It is said that "Wise men are instructed by reason, men of less understanding need the experience, and the ignorant are guided only by necessity."

Reason, long ago, was put away; experience, we've had a sufficiency, but in some quarters not yet enough.

However, NECESSITY is on the threshold and in tones clear and loud it says to the working class: "If you do not want to perish, if there is any spark of life left in your carcass, **YOU MUST UNIFY YOUR FORCES. YOU MUST CONCENTRATE YOUR EFFORT IN ONE UNION. AGITATE, EDUCATE, ORGANIZE, for ONE UNION in the CLOTHING INDUSTRY.**"—From *The Tailor*.

### Industrial Unionism or Destruction—The Industrial Railroad Workers

The present industrial situation is sufficient proof that craft union forms of organization have outlived their usefulness. They no longer tend to better the condition of the workers, according to the principles on which they were organized, but like the various political organizations have become corrupted by the power delegated to them by the rank and file and have developed into machines manipulated by parasitical heads that are proving a burden instead of a relief to the membership. The high salaried officials of most of the craft unions look upon themselves as the organization and are usurping more of its powers. The luxurious lives that their high salaries enable them to live puts them out of touch and out of sympathy with the workers whom they are supposed to serve. Because the rank and file permits them to usurp the powers of the organization, they soon grow egotistical and develop into a lot of credit seeking tools of the capitalist interests. As a result of these credit-seeking salaried officials of labor sacrificing the interest of the rank and file to satisfy their own personal ambitions the labor movement of the country is kept divided into crafts and factions with their petty jealousies and prejudices just when it should be cemented together into one solid body. While this applies

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to most all craft organizations, it is more noticeable in the railroad industry. Here they have the Brotherhood of Engineers, Firemen, Conductors and Trainmen, with the unskilled labor not organized at all. All of these are separate crafts, while they are all affiliated with the A. F. of L., yet the engineer will run his engine with a scab fireman; the conductor with a scab trainman, and even haul strike-breakers and scabs or gunmen and militia to break the strike of their fellow workingmen, due to the sacred and separate contracts made by each craft; they can't do otherwise without violating their agreement with the masters. The railroad brotherhoods will haul in strike-breakers, gunmen and soldiers to take the places of striking miners, and will not protect one of their members if he refuses and is discharged on account of his refusal; they will haul the coal from scab mines and the union miners will supply coal for scab trains, all due to the various craft agreements.

The workers can agree with the masters for the protection of the capitalist interest, but they can't agree and refuse to enter into a contract with their fellow workers for the protection of their interest. In every industrial conflict the capitalist has always been able to use one body of workingmen to defeat another body of workingmen, yet in the face of these facts the strongest opposition to industrial unionism comes from the salaried officials of craft unionism, but the rank and file of all crafts are gradually awakening to the realization that craft unionism has become fossilized and no longer meets the requirements of the present industrial era. The high salaried officials will not be able to retard the industrial movement much longer and to further burden the workers with padded expense accounts and high salaries. With the rapid development of a class interest the craft movement will be abolished and with it the parasites and fossils that have bled the workers while the masters robbed them. We have a striking example of this usurped power and official dictatorship in the part the official machines both in the railroad organization and the mine workers of Pennsylvania.

The railroad workers out of Pittsburgh went on strike, but the salaried officials of the various brotherhoods held a gentlemanly meeting with the railroad magnates and decided that the workers had no grievances and refused to recognize the strike. The officials of the mine workers of the same state also held a gentlemanly agreement with the coal barons and decided that the miners should continue to work at the present wages and conditions for two more years; as a result of these high-handed tactics of these officials another industrial movement sprung into existence; the railroad strikers refused to be driven back to work by their official traitors and organized what is known as the Industrial Railroad Workers. From what we know of the rank and file of the railroad brotherhoods, an industrial organization of this nature will meet with their most hearty approval and support, and with an agreement between the railroad workers and the miners these two industries could

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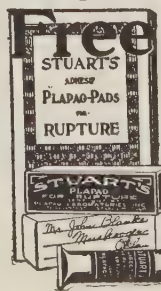
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practically wring from the masters their own price or else tie up the wheels of commerce. The working class must organize industrially as a class and not as crafts; they must organize politically as a class, and the world is theirs. The crisis has been reached and it is either industrial unionism or dissolution and destruction.—(Ed. Labor Argus.)

**Alexander Scott Freed.**—Supreme Court Justice Kalish, in an opinion handed down April 20, at Trenton, N. J., reversed the conviction of Alexander Scott, Socialist editor of the *Pas-saic Weekly Issue* of Paterson, N. J., who was sentenced to a term of imprisonment of from one to fifteen years for alleged incitation to "hostility and opposition to government" during the strike of the silk workers in Paterson last year. In reversing the decision, he declared there was no ground for the indictment and scored Judge Abram Klenert for not quashing the indictment or ordering a verdict of acquittal.

Judge Kalisch makes the main point of his opinion in his affirmation of the right of free speech and freedom of the press. Scott may have used ill-chosen language, he said, but he stood upon his constitutional rights in so doing. What bearing the decision of Justice Kalisch will have on the cases of Frederick S. Boyd and Patrick L. Quinlan, who were involved in the strike and convicted of similar charges, is not yet known. But the prosecution has received a severe setback in its case against these two comrades.

**To the Rescue.**—Fellow-worker Joe Hill, author of the I. W. W. song book, cartoonist and rebel from lower California with Jack Mosby, are in jail in Salt Lake City, charged with murder. An ex-policeman was killed one evening and four days later Comrade Hill was arrested for the deed at the home of some friends nine miles from the city. Eye witnesses failed to identify Hill as being the assailant so the police resorted to other means to "get" a man whom they all know is an agitator. The newspapers are being used to create the impression that Hill is a dangerous man, a bad man and author of the I. W. W. song book. This in itself is enough to convict him of chopping his mother up into little bits so far as the business interests in the community are concerned. Added to this the Utah Construction Company and the Utah Copper Company (alias the Mormon Church) are thirsting for revenge on the I. W. W. We have information that Axel Steele, who is reported to be a notorious gunman and scab-herder, has boasted in San Pedro saloons that the fact that Hill is a member of the I. W. W. is enough to convict him with the jury they are getting ready for him. The boys have started a defense fund for these two boys. Everybody will want to contribute at least 10 cents, so chuck any amount you can spare into an envelope and mail it to Ed Rowan, Local No. 69, 28 S W. Temple street, Salt Lake City, Utah.

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**From a Reader.**—I like your articles and illustrations on labor-saving machines and industrial conditions at home and abroad. Short articles and plenty of photo-engravings make the *REVIEW* interesting. I get the bulk of my foreign news of the movement in the *REVIEW*.—W. Carl Spencer.

**From a Logging Camp.**—I am about the only Socialist in a camp of about twenty men. A logging camp. Well, here is at least no competition for the glory. I was very much pleased with your May number. It is up to date and direct and bright.—C. O. O.

**Getting Better.**—She's getting better all the time, "Our Fighting Magazine," or I am getting better able to appreciate its tune or both; at any rate I devour each number with a relish and pleasure, I am frank to say, I cannot find in any other Socialist periodical.—J. J. Hisel.

**From the "Live Ones."**—The following comrades have sent in 10 or more subs during the past month:

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Comrade H. A. Hedden, who is on his way from Jackson, Mich., to Aberdeen, Wash., is now passing through the state of South Dakota. Comrade Hedden is hoping to find some trace of his brother, Jess, who was last heard from at Aberdeen, Wash., more than twenty years ago.

**The Frame-Up.**—Thomas J. Mooney, our old friend from San Francisco, and H. G. Hanlon and Joe Brown, all class-conscious working men, are being held at the Contra Costa county jail at Martinez, Cal. Our friends write that they are the victims of arrogant western corporations, who have hired detectives for the purpose of "discovering trouble." These three boys spent months of activity in the strike of the electrical workers against the powerful Pacific Gas & Electric Company. It is claimed that Pinkertons were constantly on the heels of the boys faking up evidence against them. Their wives and relatives were also dogged. Of course the boys have earned the hatred of the big capitalists because of their activity in many western strikes. The detectives claim the boys carried enough nitroglycerin to blow up the whole city, but even they were able to produce only some fulminate caps, which they had undoubtedly procured themselves. We hope our California friends will unite to demand a fair trial for our friends and that they may soon return to their work in the Army of Socialism.

**Prizes for Pictures.**—The REVIEW will hereafter give a \$3.00 prize each month for the best photograph sent us, which we are able to use in the REVIEW. For all other photographs used we will send free one of our dollar books, the REVIEW one year, or two 50c books.

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